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PROHIBITION

DISCOVER THE TRUTH BEHIND THE 13 YEARS THAT CHANGED AMERICA FOREVER

The 'Noble Experiment' of Prohibition took effect in the United States in January 1920. However, in the 13 years before the 18th Amendment was repealed it had changed the face of the United States forever. In the Book of Prohibition we'll explore the factors that led to the decision to outlaw the sale and manufacture of alcoholic beverages and the individuals and organisations that pushed for change, as well as those who fought against it. We'll discover what happened when America went dry in 1920, from the birth of illegal drinking establishments known as speakeasies to the growth in illegal production and smuggling of alcohol as people did what they could to quench their thirst for liquor. Another major consequence of Prohibition was the huge increase in organised crime. In our fascinating features we look at how Prohibition changed the face of crime in the United States, leading to the rise of notorious gangsters such as Al Capone and Lucky Luciano, while we also meet the men and women who had the unenviable task of policing Prohibition and battling the mob as we uncover the true story of Prohibition agents like Eliot Ness and his team of Untouchables. Cheers!

FUTURE

PROHIBITION

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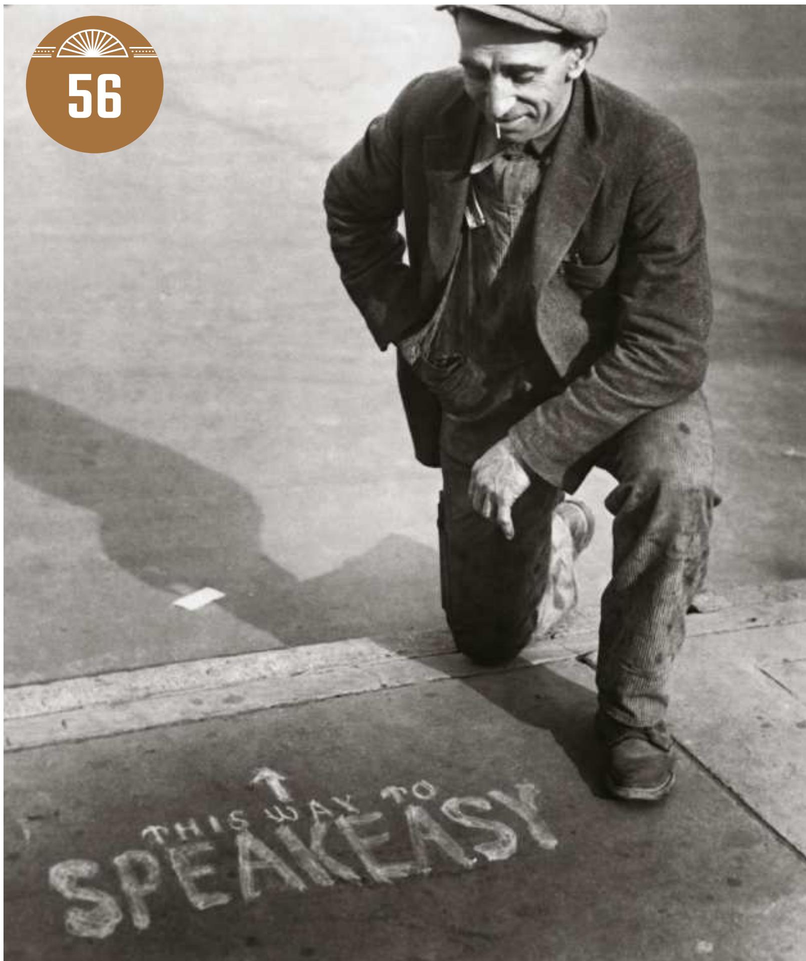

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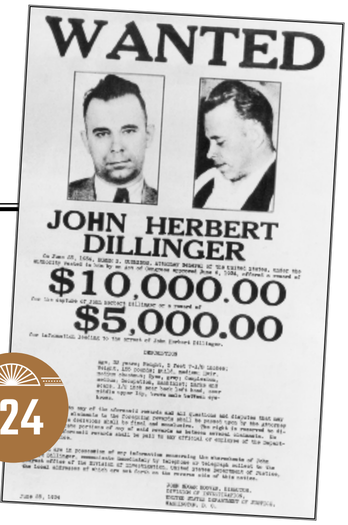
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PROHIBITION

A TIMELINE OF TEMPERANCE AND TIPPLING

THE YEARS OF PROHIBITION WERE THE RESULT OF A CENTURY OF DEBATE CONCERNING THE PROMOTION AND CONSUMPTION OF ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES

CONGRESS PASSES THE WARTIME PROHIBITION ACT AFTER THE ARMISTICE ENDING WORLD WAR I

18 November 1918 ■ Washington DC

VOLSTEAD ACT VIOLATIONS SKYROCKET AS LAWS GO INTO EFFECT

January-June 1920 ■ Nationwide

c.1918

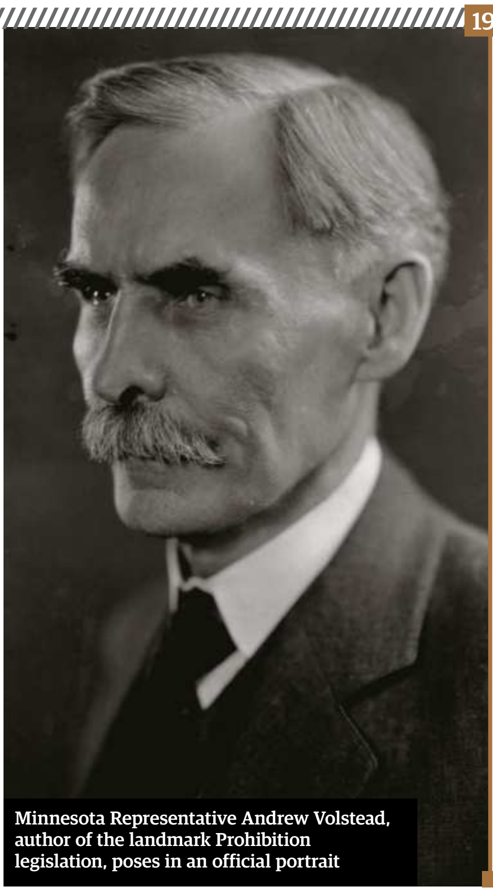
1919

1920

Volstead Act passes Congress

28 October 1919 ■ Washington DC

Months after the 18th Amendment to the US Constitution establishes Prohibition, the Volstead Act, sponsored by Republican Representative Andrew John Volstead of Minnesota, brings some degree of specificity to the amendment, defining and prohibiting intoxicating liquors, regulating the manufacture, sale and transport of such beverages, and providing for the continuing supply of such liquors for use in scientific research, religious rituals, the manufacture of fuels and other commercial concerns. It specifies that "…no person shall manufacture, sell, barter, transport, import, export, deliver, or furnish any intoxicating liquor except as authorized by this act." President Woodrow Wilson vetoes the Volstead bill on 27 October due to technical objections; however, the Senate overrides the president's veto. According to the Volstead Act, an intoxicating liquor is defined as any beverage containing at least 0.5 per cent alcohol by volume.



Minnesota Representative Andrew Volstead, author of the landmark Prohibition legislation, poses in an official portrait

18th Amendment goes into effect

16 January 1920 ■ Washington, DC

Following ratification in Congress a year earlier, the 18th Amendment to the US Constitution goes into effect. In section 1, the amendment states, "After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited." While the amendment places stiff regulations on many aspects of the use of alcohol, it does not specifically prohibit consumption. The language of the amendment leaves to Congress and the states the specific powers to enforce the amendment with future legislation. The 18th Amendment remains the only amendment to the Constitution repealed in US history.

Bootlegger George Remus looks through the bars of a jail cell in 1927

George Remus raided

May 1920 ■ Chicago, Illinois

Federal agents raid the law office and operations centre of George Remus, also known as the 'King of the Bootleggers', after being tipped off that 15 barrels of whiskey have been relocated with false permits. Remus is a well-known attorney, pharmacist, and bootlegger, who has scoured the text of the Volstead Act for loopholes to exploit within the shadowy liquor trade. The charges specify that the address where the whiskey is to be delivered is a vacant lot, with a small garage used as a distribution centre in one corner. Remus, whom some believe is the inspiration for the title character in F Scott Fitzgerald's classic novel *The Great Gatsby*, relocates his operation to Cincinnati, Ohio, a safer location to ply the illegal liquor trade. In 1925, he is convicted of Volstead Act violations and sentenced to two years in prison.

Schooner Tomoka seized

23 November 1923 ■ Atlantic Ocean

The US Coast Guard cutter Seneca seizes the schooner Tomoka on the high seas. The ship is carrying illegal whiskey and is owned by William 'Bill' McCoy, a well-known rum runner who traffics between the Bahamas and the US East Coast. A highly successful smuggler, McCoy is a pioneer of the clandestine activity, already famous for delivering 1,500 cases of rum from Nassau, Bahamas, to the port of Savannah, Georgia. McCoy, who claims to have patterned his activities on those of Revolutionary War hero John Hancock, tells reporters prior to going to trial, "I have no tale of woe to tell you. I was outside the three-mile limit, selling whiskey, and good whiskey, to anyone and everyone who wanted to buy." He is convicted of smuggling and serves a nine-month sentence in a New Jersey jail. He later invests the fortune he earned during Prohibition in Florida real estate.

Government agents stand among crates of confiscated whiskey about the Coast Guard cutter Seneca

BOOTLEGGER ROY OLMSTEAD, KING OF PACIFIC NORTHWEST BOOTLEGGERS, IS CONVICTED

20 February 1926 ■ Seattle, Washington

1923

1926

1927

Officials pour liquor into a street sewer at the height of Prohibition in the US

A crowd looks on as Billy McSwiggin's body is carried to its final resting place.

Billy McSwiggin murder

27 April 1926 ■ Chicago, Illinois

Assistant State's Attorney Billy McSwiggin, only 26 years old, is gunned down in front of Harry Madigan's Pony Inn after a "little good beer" with some known Chicago hoodlums. The youthful McSwiggin has already earned the nickname of the 'hangman prosecutor', and questions immediately emerge. Mafia kingpin Al Capone is considered a suspect, arrested and held for three days. However, insufficient evidence forces the authorities to release the gangster chieftain. Although McSwiggin and Capone once opposed one another, they have recently become friendly. Capone tells police, "I didn't kill McSwiggin. I liked the kid." A grand jury concludes that McSwiggin was a bystander in the midst of a brewing war involving Capone's men and a rival gang. The murder investigation leads to a series of raids on bars in the Chicago suburb of Cicero. During one of these a ledger is discovered that leads to Capone's conviction for tax evasion.

ELIOT NESS JOINS TREASURY DEPARTMENT AND BECOMES NEMESIS OF AL CAPONE

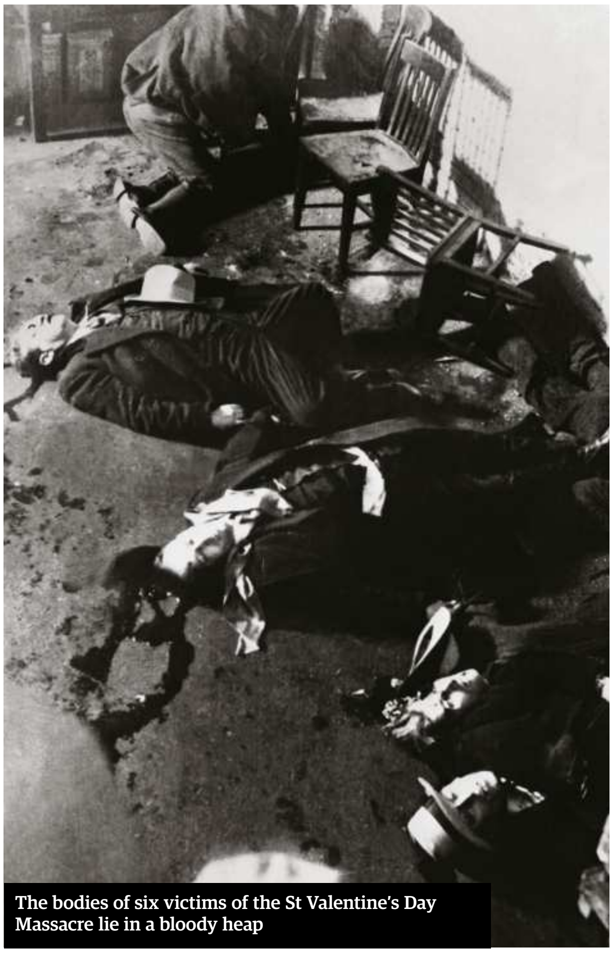
1927 ■

Chicago, Illinois

St Valentine's Day Massacre

14 February 1929 ■ Washington DC

Seven members of Irish mobster George 'Bugs' Moran's gang are gunned down in a garage on Chicago's North Side. No one is ever brought to trial for the murders, but the rival gang under mob kingpin Al Capone is suspected of carrying out the murders to eliminate competition for the lucrative bootlegging, gambling, and prostitution business in the city. The crescendo of the gang warfare that gripped Chicago during the Prohibition era of the 1920s, the so-called St Valentine's Day Massacre is probably carried out by Capone's men dressed as police officers, who enter the garage, stand Moran's men facing a wall, and open fire with automatic weapons, pouring at least 70 rounds into them. By an amazing stroke of luck, Moran himself is en route to the garage at the time of the massacre and escapes death by just a few minutes.


The bodies of six victims of the St Valentine's Day Massacre lie in a bloody heap

Al Capone convicted

17 October 1931 ■ Chicago, Illinois

Al Capone, king of the Chicago underworld, is convicted in federal court of tax evasion and sentenced to 11 years in prison. He is also fined $50,000, assessed $7,692 in court costs and judged to owe $215,000 in delinquent taxes and interest penalties. Capone has made a fortune in organised crime, and Prohibition has contributed to his wealth - one year's income is estimated at $60 million - as a brisk trade in illegal liquor has become his primary source of revenue. Capone had earlier pleaded guilty to tax evasion and violation of Prohibition laws, and told the press he has worked out a deal to serve two and a half years in prison. However, the presiding judge announces that he is not bound by any deal. Capone changes his plea to not guilty and is ultimately convicted. He serves his lengthy sentence in federal prisons in Atlanta and on Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay.

MEMBERS OF THE INFAMOUS PURPLE GANG ARE MURDERED

16 September 1931 ■ Detroit, Michigan

1929 1930 1931

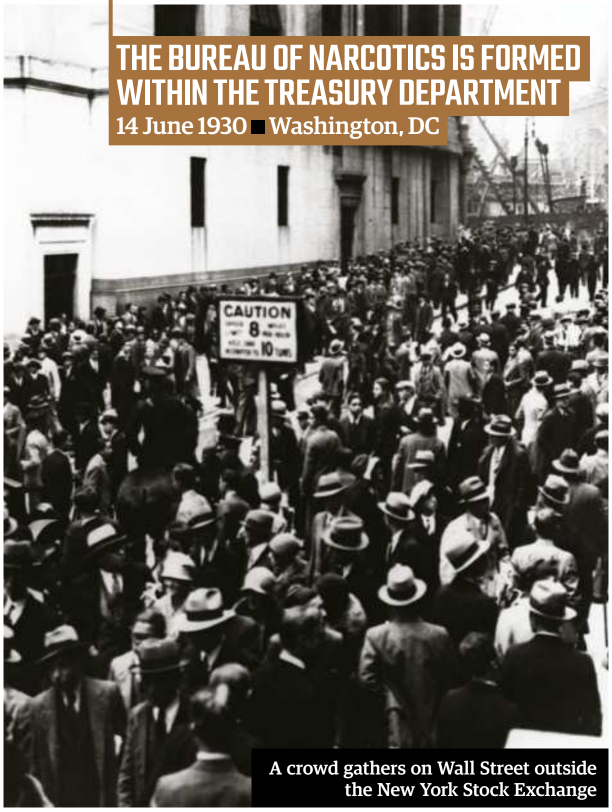
Stock market crash

29 October 1929 ■ New York

The crash of the stock market precipitates the worldwide Great Depression, and federal and state governments seek sources of revenue to replace those depleted through high unemployment, business failures and the loss of wealth. Many government officials consider Prohibition, which has created a highly profitable black market in alcohol sales, to be an obstacle to full economic recovery while depriving their coffers of the substantial tax revenue generated through liquor-related commerce. During the presidential election campaign in 1932, both Republican incumbent candidate Herbert Hoover and Democratic hopeful and future president Franklin D Roosevelt voice support for the 21st Amendment to the US Constitution, which would repeal Prohibition and hopefully provide support for a comprehensive economic recovery in the struggling US.

THE BUREAU OF NARCOTICS IS FORMED WITHIN THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT

14 June 1930 ■ Washington, DC



A crowd gathers on Wall Street outside the New York Stock Exchange

Senator John J Blaine of Wisconsin drafted the legislation that led to the end of Prohibition

Al Capone leaves jail in Chicago upon his release in 1939. He subsequently moves to Florida

1932

HERBERT HOOVER SPEAKS AGAINST PROHIBITION WHILE ACCEPTING NOMINATION FOR PRESIDENT

11 August 1932 ■ Chicago, Illinois

1933

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT SIGNS CULLEN-HARRISON ACT LEGALISING SALES OF BEER AND WINE

22 March 1933 ■ Washington, DC

Blaine Act drafted

6 December 1932 ■ Washington DC

Wisconsin Senator John J Blaine drafts the Blaine Act, which serves as the basis for the legislative repeal of the 18th Amendment to the US Constitution and the end of Prohibition in the United States. The Blaine Act allows states to form committees that could possibly ratify a proposed amendment for the repeal of Prohibition, and a three-fourths majority of the 48 states is required. Although Senator Morris Sheppard of Texas has previously stated that there is "as much chance of repealing the 18th Amendment as there is for a hummingbird to fly to the planet Mars with the Washington Monument tied to its tail" and plans a filibuster (a rambling, long and largely uninterruptible speech to the US Senate, often used to derail voting on a Bill) to kill any such measure, the process of undoing 13 years of Prohibition in America is underway.

End of Prohibition

5 December 1933 ■ Washington, DC

The 21st Amendment to the US Constitution is ratified in Congress, ending the Prohibition era in the United States. Utah becomes the 36th state to ratify the measure, which repeals the 18th Amendment enacted 13 years earlier. Some states, however, continue to enforce Prohibition laws, while two-thirds of them maintain some form of local authority to allow individual voters to enforce measures permitting or prohibiting commerce in liquor. Mississippi is the last state in the Union with explicit ordinances on the books, ending its status in 1966. With the announcement that Prohibition has ended, celebrations erupt across the country. During family Christmas observances, President Franklin D Roosevelt brings out a 51-year-old bottle of wine and proclaims, "It was a great privilege for the family to drink the family toast… in an honest product."

Ladies sit atop a bar in Manhattan and drink to the end of Prohibition

THE ROAD TO PROHIBITION

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How colonisation brought with it a thirst for liquor

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How the temperance movement attempted to regulate the consumption of alcohol

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Discover what factors led to the 18th Amendment

A.O.BLISS
PROPERTIES
36

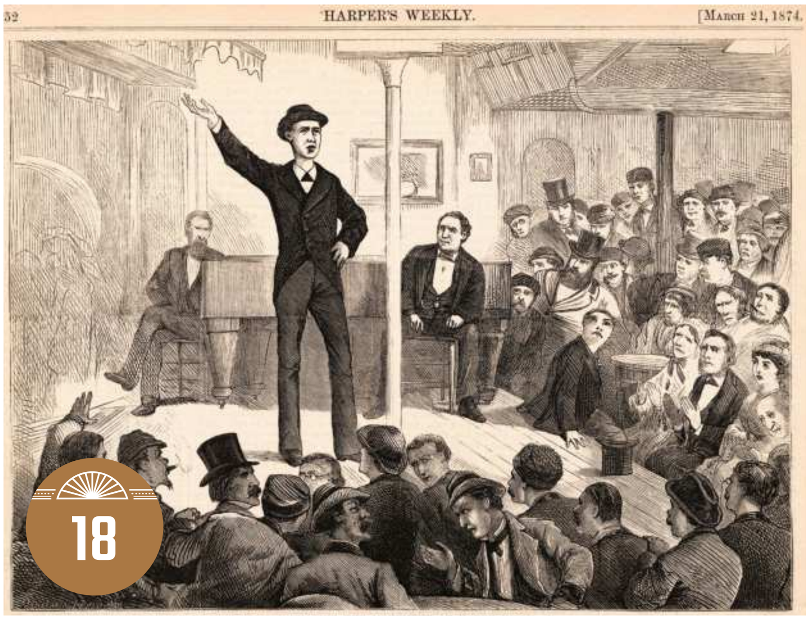
WE INVITE YOU
Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform
Come
ENROLL AGAINST PROHIBITION
NO DUES

Coca-Cola
7 million drinks a day
26

TEMPERANCE HOTEL
TEMPE HOT
18

WE WANT BEER
WE WANT BEER
WE WANT BEER

35.37.39.
WOMANS CHRISTIAN
TEMPERANCE
UNION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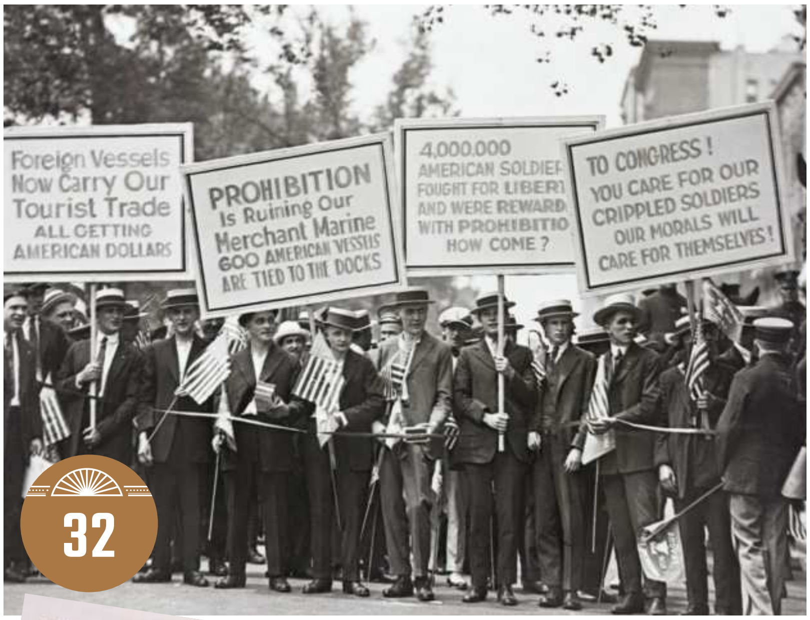
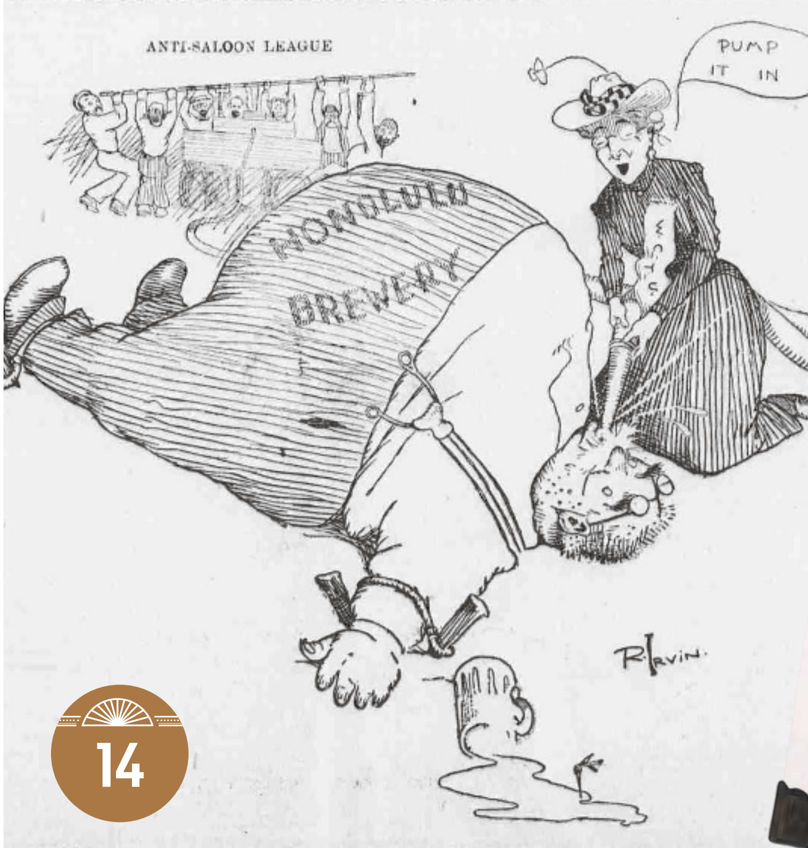
HARPER'S WEEKLY.
[MARCH 21, 1874.

18


Foreign Vessels Now Carry Our Tourist Trade ALL GETTING AMERICAN DOLLARS
PROHIBITION Is Ruining Our Merchant Marine 600 AMERICAN VESSELS ARE TIED TO THE DOCKS
4,000,000 AMERICAN SOLDIER FOUGHT FOR LIBERT AND WERE REWARD WITH PROHIBITIO HOW COME?
TO CONGRESS! YOU CARE FOR OUR CRIPPLED SOLDIERS OUR MORALS WILL CARE FOR THEMSELVES!

32


ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE
PUMP IT IN
HONOLULU BREWERY
W.C.T.U.
R. IRVIN.

WATER CURE FOR THE BREWERY

14

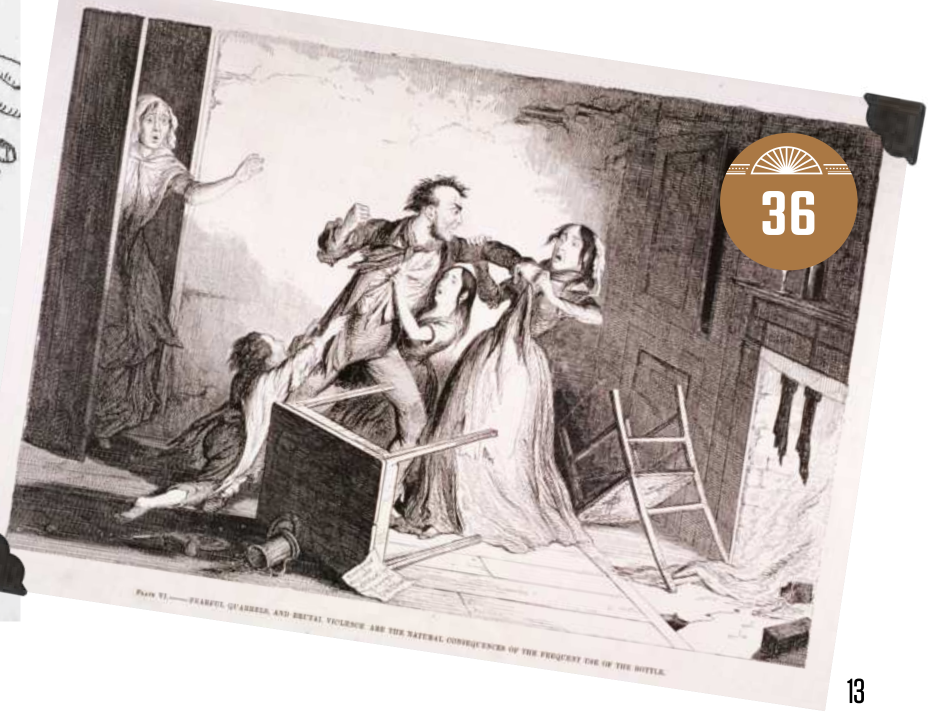
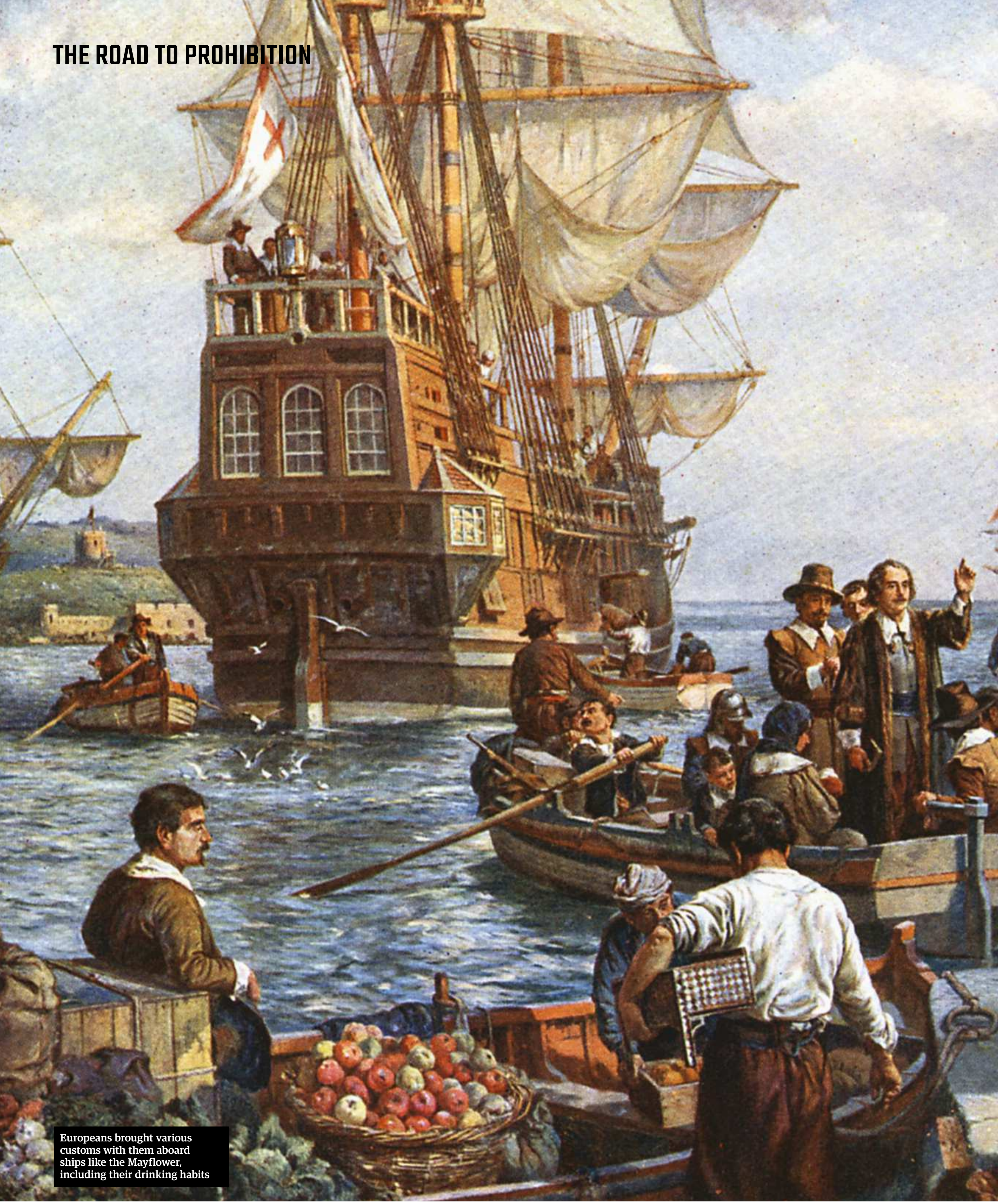


PLATE VI.—FEARFUL QUARRELS, AND BRUTAL VIOLENCE ARE THE NATURAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE FREQUENT USE OF THE BOTTLE.

36



Europeans brought various customs with them aboard ships like the Mayflower, including their drinking habits

DRINKING IN THE COLONIAL ERA

THE EUROPEAN COLONISATION OF NORTH AMERICA BROUGHT WITH IT A THIRST FOR LIQUOR THAT QUICKLY BECAME INGRAINED IN THE CULTURE

The European settlers who arrived in North America in the 17th century brought with them various customs and traditions. One of these was the Old World's taste for liquor. The consumption of alcoholic beverages was commonplace and its production was big business across the other side of the Atlantic, with these drinking habits being transferred across The Pond.

A professional brewer was among the settlers who started up the inaugural Plymouth Colony in the 1620s and brewing beer was a part of life in colonial North America. As more colonies were established, drinking became more popular with workers often having wine for breakfast along with tipples for lunch and dinner – the modern equivalent of a morning coffee and an afternoon tea. It wasn't just the thirst of workers – a valuable income stream for early colonial governments was a tax on alcohol. A licence to produce beer was introduced and any unlicensed brewing would result in a fine. The first tavern licence was written in 1634 and soon regulations on the strength and price of beer had been introduced.

Drunkenness was considered a sin by the Christian churches set up in the colonies but very rarely was action taken to prevent people from drinking themselves into a drunken stupor. The role of alcohol in American society wasn't just limited to a frequent tipple – liquor was used as a substitute for water and was a part of many prescribed medicines and treatments.

Importing alcohol from Europe was a costly and timely business so many colonists soon took to making their own. European immigrants, in particular the Germans and the Dutch, brought with them the method of brewing lager, which quickly established itself in areas like New York and Milwaukee. Away from beer, cider became a popular drink, and a cheaper alternative, in the New England region. Rum was another beverage that began to boom in the early-mid 18th century. The drink had made its way north from the Caribbean and had a much more potent alcohol content than a bottle of beer. A gallon of rum only cost two shillings in the late 1730s and home distilling became so popular that it actually had an effect on the sale of beer in breweries in the lead up to the American Revolutionary War.

THE US NAVY ONCE HAD A DAILY HALF-PINT RATION OF RUM THAT WAS GIVEN TO ALL ITS MARINERS

Not everyone in the colonies was a big-time drinker. The first temperance society in the USA was founded in 1789. The society based itself on the anti-alcohol ideas of founding father Dr Benjamin Rush, a physician who was one of the signatories of the Declaration of Independence. He published *An Inquiry Into The Effects Of Ardent Spirits Upon The Human Body And Mind* in 1785 as he tried to educate people on the dangers of alcohol addiction and its effect on society. He didn't advocate complete teetotalism but was one of the first doctors to see drunkenness as a medical and a mental issue, and believed its excessive consumption was affecting the growth of a nation that he had helped shape.

The average American citizen drank 13 litres of alcohol every year in the late 18th century. In 1830 this number had risen to a peak of 26.4 litres for over 15s. The level today is about 8.7 litres. So-called 'eye-openers' and 'nightcaps' were very popular ways of starting and ending the day. The liquor industry showed no signs of slowing and there were an estimated 500 German breweries in the USA in 1854 and many of the USA's modern breweries today have their roots from the initial influx of European lager. For example Milwaukee, which had a high German population, was home to four of the largest breweries in the country. This included Miller, which is still one of the biggest beer companies in the US today as part of MillerCoors.

The origins of prohibition began in the early 19th century as attitudes to drinking began to change. New laws passed in Massachusetts meant that alcohol could now only be bought in bulk and not in small quantities. There was a new focus on the drug or the substance itself rather than on the drinker. Now, the actual alcohol was being questioned as well as the effects it had on people. Ideas of alcoholism as a disease first came around in this period as thoughts on the subject became much more progressive and coordinated.

A number of individual states had gone dry before the Prohibition era. Maine was the first to say no to the bottle in 1851 and 13 states had officially followed suit by the time of the American Civil War but how 'dry' they actually were is difficult to ascertain. Bootleggers would face a fine of $1,000 if they were caught bringing alcohol into a dry state but a firm federal decree often prevented the law from being enacted.

The popularity of drink meant that alcohol-fuelled violence could be rife in some cities. One group set up in opposition was the Woman's Christian Temperance

> "THE AVERAGE AMERICAN DRANK 13 LITRES OF ALCOHOL EVERY YEAR IN THE LATE 18TH CENTURY. IN 1830 THIS NUMBER HAD RISEN TO A PEAK OF 26.4 LITRES"

NATIVE AMERICANS AND LIQUOR

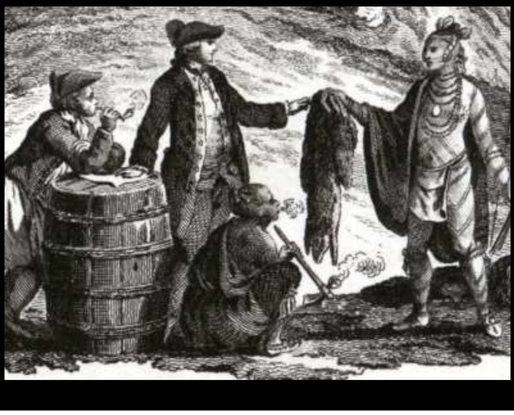
DRINKING ALCOHOL WAS NOT A POPULAR PASTIME IN NORTH AMERICA UNTIL THE ARRIVAL OF EUROPEAN SETTLERS

Native Americans commonly used tobacco and herbs such as peyote and Datura for recreational and medicinal uses, but alcohol was not a tradition like it was in the Old World. As European settlers came into contact with different tribes and nations between the 16th and 19th centuries, Natives were offered alcohol as a bargaining tool in trade, which for some was their first experience of it, at least in this quantity and strength.

During the Plains Wars, Native Americans would often come into contact with hard drinking military men on the frontier who drank distilled drinks that were a lot stronger than what the Natives would have experienced. Wovoka, a religious leader who led the popular Ghost Dance movement towards the end of the conflict, encouraged his followers to abstain from alcohol, having seen the effect it had on his people.

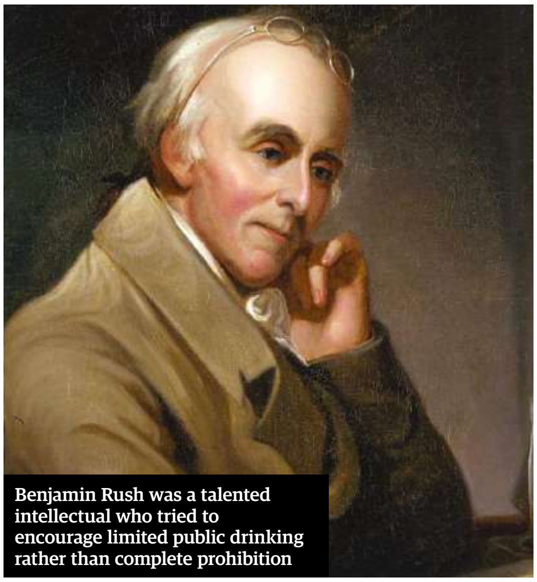
One Native group that did have a good knowledge of alcohol production before any contact with colonists were the Puebloan culture from what is now New Mexico. There are records that they brewed a type of corn beer, with archaeological findings tracing the age of the drinking vessels at 800 years old.

In later years, the idea of a drunken Native American was used as demonised propaganda by European settlers. Alcohol was prohibited on tribal lands by President Thomas Jefferson in 1802 and then the sale of alcohol to Native Americans was banned in 1832. The ban wasn't lifted until 1953.



An illustration of a settler trading rum with a Native American

Milwaukee was a major brewing hub, partly down to the high amount of German immigrants who moved there



Benjamin Rush was a talented intellectual who tried to encourage limited public drinking rather than complete prohibition

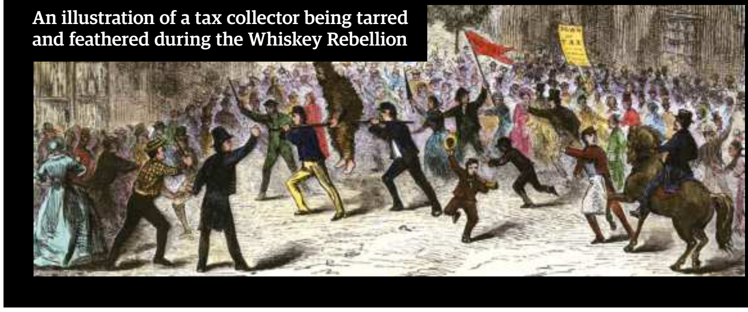
THE WHISKEY REBELLION

WHEN THE US GOVERNMENT INTRODUCED A TAX ON WHISKEY, MANY FARMERS REFUSED TO PAY AND FOUGHT BACK AGAINST THE NEW LAW

The outbreak of the American Revolutionary War made importing alcohol tricky. This led to American-brewed whiskey becoming popular, especially with Scottish and Irish immigrants. This continued after the war, with corn from Kentucky and Ohio harvested en masse at 25 cents a gallon – a steal compared to beer and wine and even to tea, coffee and milk.

In the years after the war the USA had accumulated a national debt of more than $50 million, which resulted in a tax being imposed on whiskey production in 1790. Farmers refused to pay this new tax and the Whiskey Rebellion began in 1791. The rebellion was centralised in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania where farmers protested by abducting tax collectors, stripping them naked and branding them with a red hot poker or tarring and feathering them. Some collectors were also beaten or even shot.

Around 1,500 people marched to Pittsburgh to protest against the federal excise tax during the rebellion. These intimidation tactics meant west Pennsylvania managed to avoid the tax for years but the rebellious activities stopped after troops were called in. Several rebellion leaders were later captured, charged with treason and then either sentenced to prison or hanging.


An illustration of a tax collector being tarred and feathered during the Whiskey Rebellion

NATIONAL PROHIBITION CONVENTION, 1892.
A National Prohibition Convention in full swing in Cincinnati, Ohio in 1892

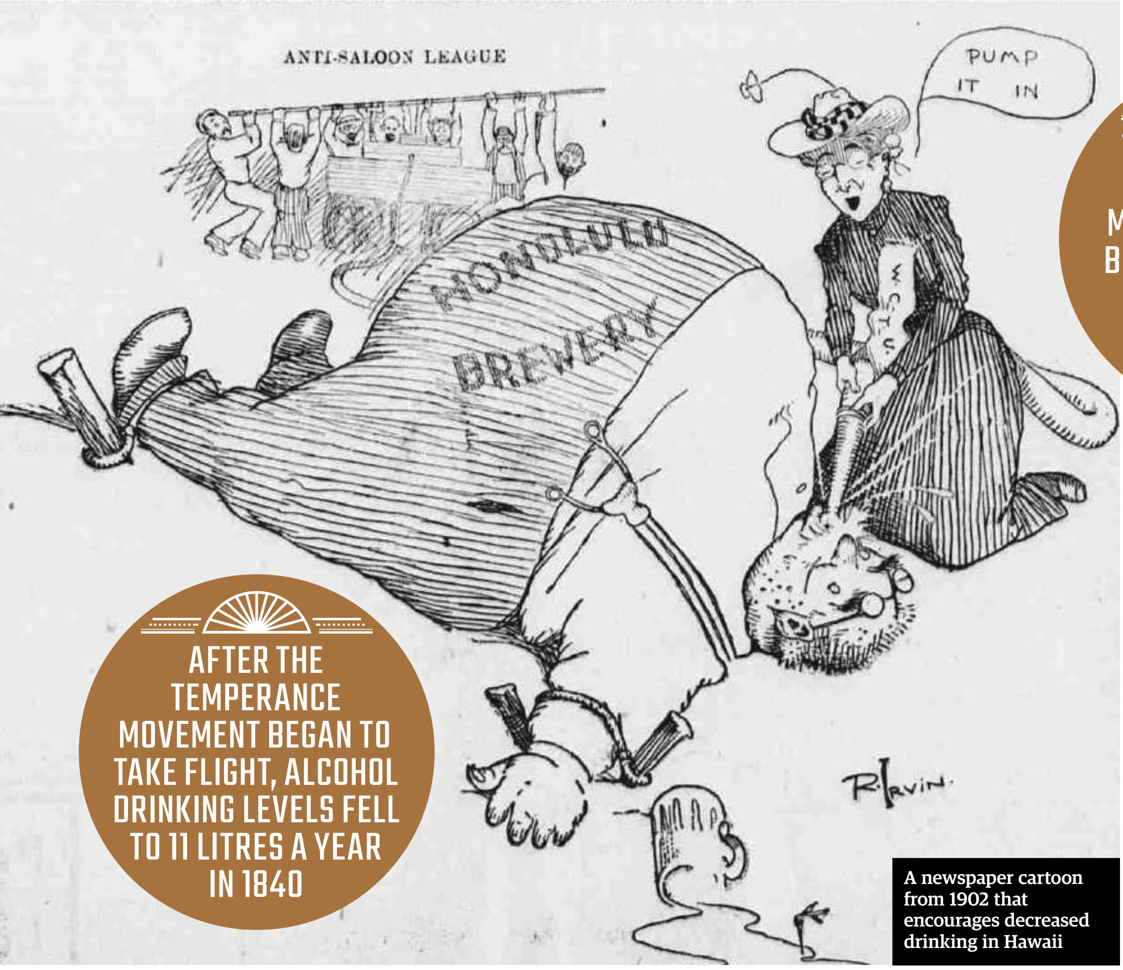
Union (WCTU), which led a countrywide campaign to educate people on the dangers of alcohol. The campaign was taught in schools and there are stories of WCTU members barging into taverns and saloons before kneeling to pray and then demanding the closure of the establishment. Led by Frances Willard, the group gained over 1 million members at the height of its popularity and managed to ban drinkers from becoming teachers. Another was the National Prohibition Party, an anti-alcohol political party, which was formed in 1869 with the objective of banning the sale of liquor outright. The party never gained power but it reached its zenith in 1892 when its leader, John Bidwell, received more than 260,000 votes in his presidential bid.

The WCTU was a precursor to the church-supported Anti-Saloon League, which formed in 1893. The league wasn't an anti-alcohol political party like the Prohibition Party. Instead it operated with other political parties like the Democrats and the Republicans to try and influence politicians to add prohibition laws to their manifestos. The organisation also counted on support from famous names like Henry Ford and John D Rockefeller but often these policies didn't see the light of day due to corrupt politicians who relied on drinking establishments for power.

THE 1871 CHICAGO FIRE DESTROYED MANY OF THE CITY'S BREWERIES SO BEER WAS IMPORTED FROM NEARBY MILWAUKEE

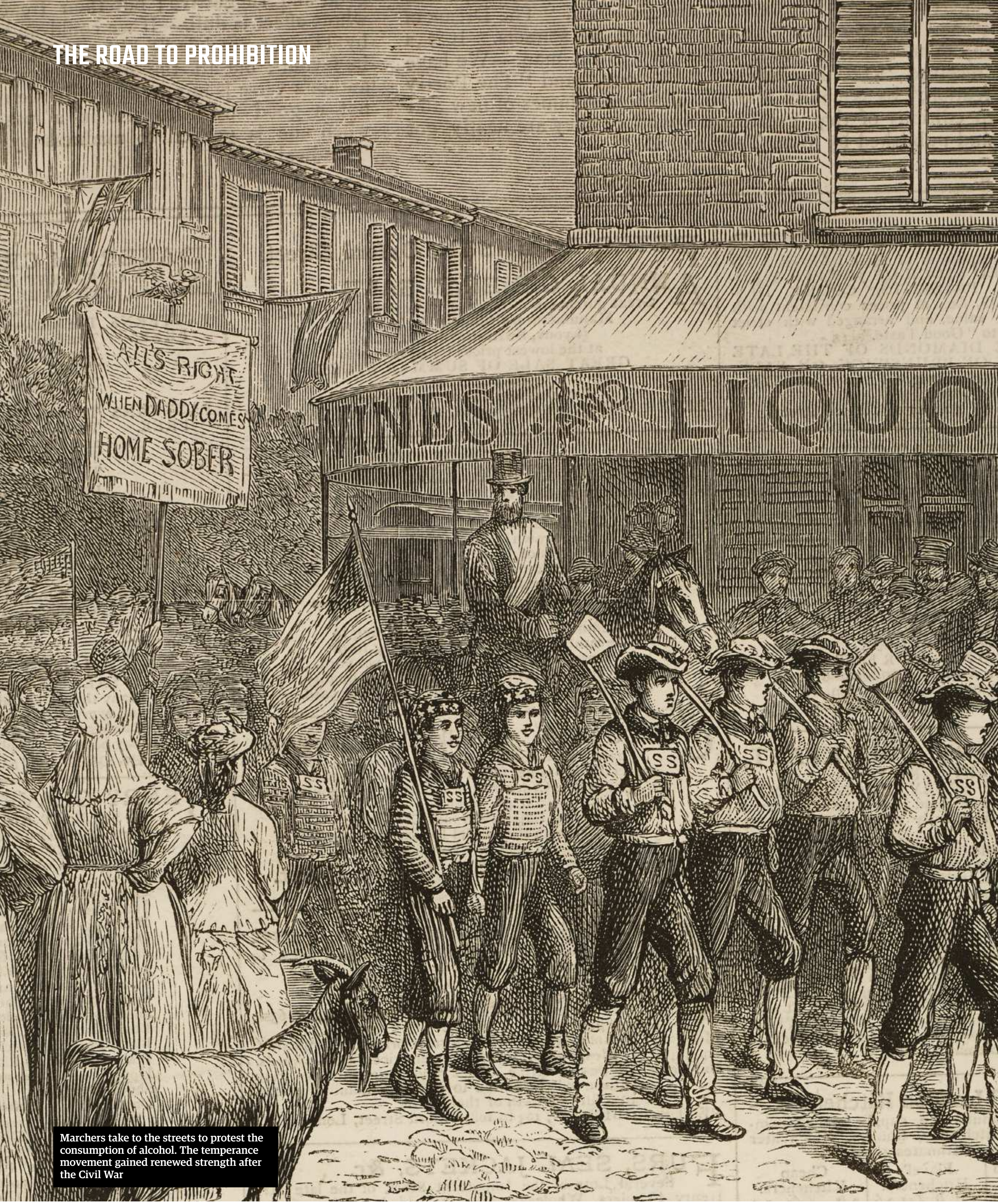
The 18th Amendment wasn't the first time an attempt was made to ban alcohol. The transport of liquor between states was restricted by the Wilson Original Packages Act in 1890 and again in the Webb-Kenyon Act of 1913. Now, any alcohol in transit had to adhere to the laws of the state it was heading to. However, the acts weren't successful as they weren't backed by federal law but it was a sign of things to come.

The anti-German sentiment felt through the USA during World War I had an effect on liquor sales, with the public choosing to spend their money elsewhere instead of the beers in the German-owned breweries. Grain was also needed to feed soldiers and horses rather than being used in the brewing process. More than 20 states had given prohibition the green light by the mid-point of the war and nationwide prohibition was on its way.

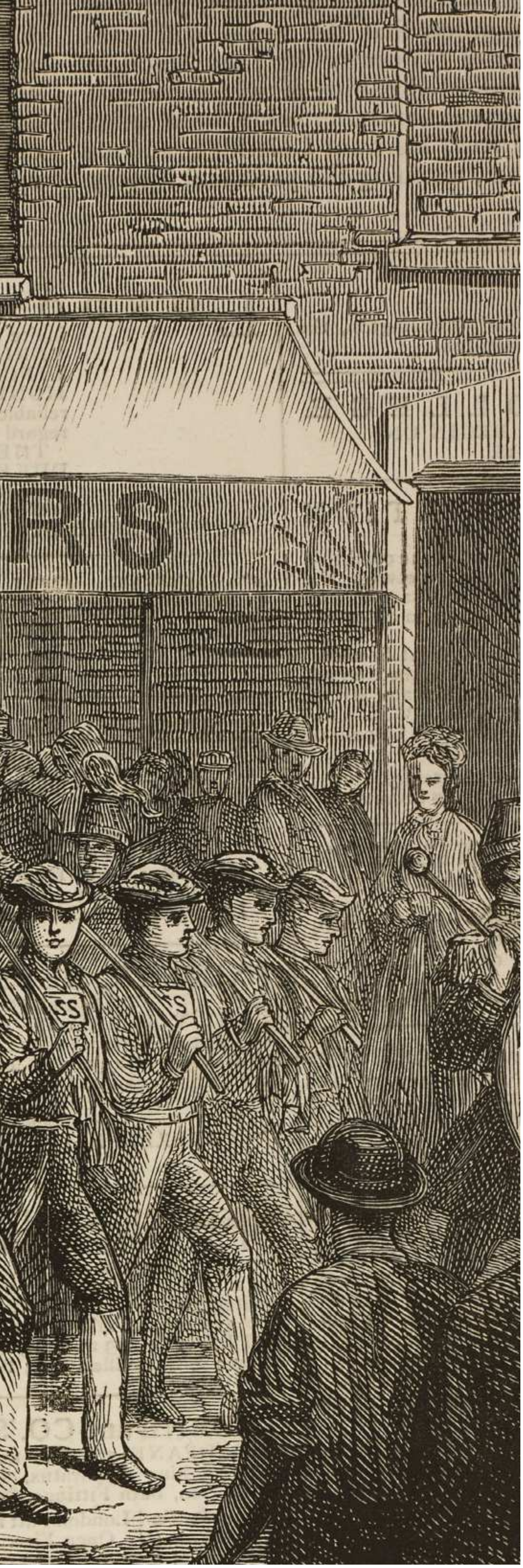


A newspaper cartoon from 1902 that encourages decreased drinking in Hawaii

AFTER THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT BEGAN TO TAKE FLIGHT, ALCOHOL DRINKING LEVELS FELL TO 11 LITRES A YEAR IN 1840


ALL'S RIGHT
WHEN DADDY COMES
HOME SOBER
WINES. & LIQUO
SS

Marchers take to the streets to protest the consumption of alcohol. The temperance movement gained renewed strength after the Civil War



THE TEMPERANCE TRAIL

THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES SPANNED TWO CENTURIES IN AN EFFORT TO REGULATE THE CONSUMPTION OF ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES

The temperance movement in the United States is as old as the nation itself. Often inspired by the Protestant church, those who sought to regulate and then to eliminate the consumption of alcoholic beverages travelled a long, difficult path towards the ratification and enactment of the 18th Amendment to the US Constitution in 1919-1920. Their zeal in support of Prohibition was the product of social, moral and religious experience that pointed to an affliction that destroyed lives and adversely affected virtually every aspect of the human experience – or so they believed.

Temperance advocates characterised their movement with criticism of alcohol consumption, and their aims were either to control the availability of hard liquor or to eradicate its use, including the consumption of beer and wine, through complete abstinence. The movement warned against the evils of alcohol abuse and often invoked the admonition that such activity is a sin. The movement has long pointed to the social ills that emerge from alcoholism, including broken families, violence, crime, lost worker productivity and risks to personal and public health, and their rationale for strict regulation has been simple: one drink usually leads to another and an inevitable downward spiral towards perdition.

During the early years of European settlement in America, the consumption of alcohol was a part of daily life. Water supplies were sometimes scarce or contaminated, medicines contained alcohol, and hard cider, beer, wine and distilled spirits were traditional drinks that were brought by colonists from their mother countries. Although alcoholism existed, it was rarely seen as a social problem until the phenomenon of the Industrial Revolution required sober workers to operate heavy machinery and equipment. Workplace accidents were a major concern, and the loss of productivity became an issue for business owners who often joined the ranks of the temperance movement for financial reasons.

The roots of American temperance emerged during the Revolutionary period as an extension of European perspective, with advocacy groups becoming active in Virginia, Connecticut and New York. By the 1790s, Benjamin Rush, a prominent Pennsylvania physician and signer of the Declaration of Independence, opposed the use of distilled alcohol but did see health benefits in the moderate consumption of beer and other common fermented beverages. Rush warned against the potential social evils of alcohol, but few colonists heeded his words.

THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT FOUND ALLIES AMONG THOSE SEEKING TO CURB POLITICAL CORRUPTION EMANATING FROM THE INFLUENCE OF SALOON OWNERS

Temperance as a movement found its early voice in England, Scotland, Ireland and Scandinavia during the 1820s. Historians recognise the first formal organisation promoting the practice to have formed in Ireland and then spread through the British Isles to Norway and Sweden. In the United States, the clergy followed suit with major European theologians such as John Wesley, founder of the Methodist movement, who advised, "…buying, selling and drinking liquor, unless absolutely necessary, are evils to be avoided."

Temperance societies sprang up in New England and New York during the 1820s and 1830s, and later, in 1842, reformed alcoholic John Bartholomew Gough began travelling across the region, asking audiences to pledge an oath of abstinence – a calling he was still answering two decades later. In 1826, the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance was formed in Boston, Massachusetts, and within four years about 6,000 local temperance groups were functioning across the young United States. At that time, the average American over the age of 15 was believed to be consuming around seven gallons of alcohol per year, which is approximately three times the rate of consumption by modern adults. Concurrently, the problem of alcohol abuse emerged with alarming rapidity.

The burgeoning temperance movement gained momentum during a time of particular social awareness in America. The religious fervour of the Second Great Awakening stirred concerns for the ills of human existence, stressed the accountability of individuals to the Almighty for their sins, and offered salvation to those who repented. Along with it came greater attention to the plight of slaves held in bondage, factory workers and manual labourers who lived in grinding poverty, and the vices of lifestyles that contributed to suffering and social instability. The consumption of alcohol was deemed sinful by the religiously motivated, while others simply recognised the fallout from drunkenness and the suffering it engendered.

By the mid-19th century, within ten years of its founding, the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance had grown to 1.25 million members in 8,000 local groups across the country, and many other organisations like it were drawing crowds to public meetings. Its growth was fuelled at least partially by the rhetoric of prominent Protestant ministers.

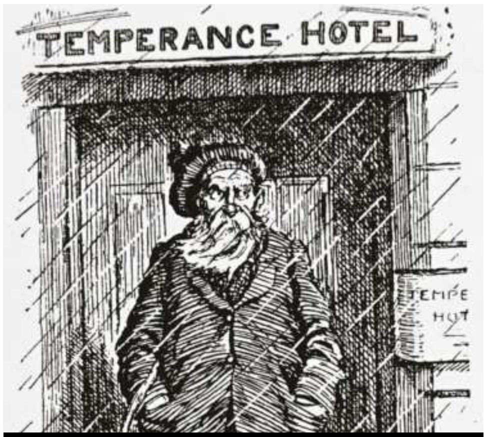
Presbyterian Charles Grandison Finney, known as the father of modern revivalism, preached vigorously and asked his listeners to pledge complete abstinence from alcohol. In 1828, Lyman Beecher, another Presbyterian, published his book *Six Sermons on Intemperance*, calling drunkenness a "national sin" and becoming one of the earliest proponents of governmental action against the production and sale of liquor. Temperance almanacs, complete with weather forecasts and the latest news on the movement, were printed and widely distributed.

As alcohol reformers moved from moderation to advocating self-help and group support for drinkers, and then to government intervention to end the manufacture, sale and consumption of beer, wine and liquor, they found common ground with abolitionists seeking to end slavery and women's rights activists during the groundswell of progressivism that swept across the nation. Those who pledged complete abstinence were identified on rosters with a capital 'T' next to their names, and the moniker of 'teetotaller' was derived from it. These groups also identified themselves as the Pure Water Army, as they promoted drinking only water in response to the growing social problems in America's large cities.

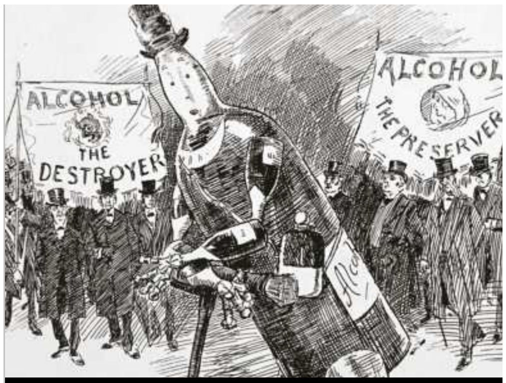
Anti-alcohol factions stirred the political arena, and 33-year-old Abraham Lincoln, a member of the Illinois House of Representatives, addressed the Springfield Washington Temperance Society in 1842 stating, "I believe, if we take habitual drunkards as a class, their heads and their hearts will bear an advantageous comparison with those of any other class. There seems ever to have been a proneness in the brilliant and warm-blooded to fall into this vice."

The Washingtonian movement had begun in Baltimore, Maryland, in the early 1840s. Interestingly, at its core was a group of craftsmen and skilled artisans, many of whom were rough-and-tumble men known as hard drinkers themselves. The Washingtonian perspective, echoed in Lincoln's remarks, did not condemn the individual who had become slave to demon liquor. Instead, it offered sympathy and support. The Washingtonians did not support government interference in alcohol commerce and consumption but chose to utilise peer pressure and coercion to fight the spread of alcoholism. In fact, the group was suspicious of the Protestant movement and the inherently divisive

A crowd lines a street prior to a temperance march in the early 20th century



Possibly seeking support for an alcohol addiction, an unkempt man waits outside the door of a temperance hall

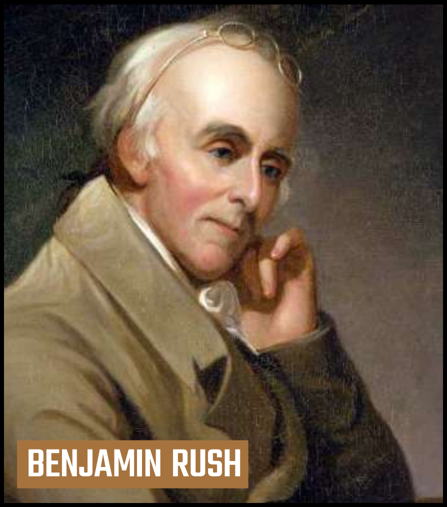


A tipsy bottle of alcohol sways along as it precedes a temperance parade in this cartoon

Mary A Livermore was active in both the temperance and suffrage movements of the early 20th century

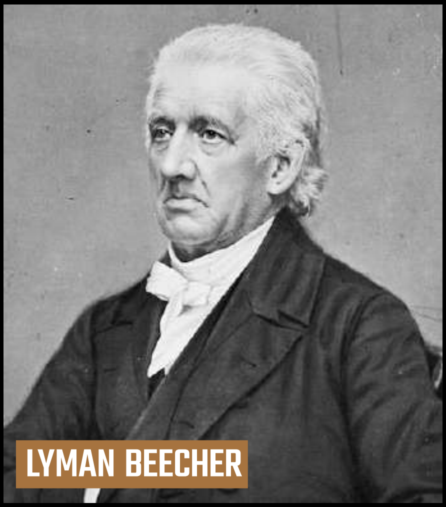
LEADERS OF THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT

NUMEROUS INDIVIDUALS DEDICATED THEMSELVES TO THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES THROUGH PERSUASION AND ACTIVISM



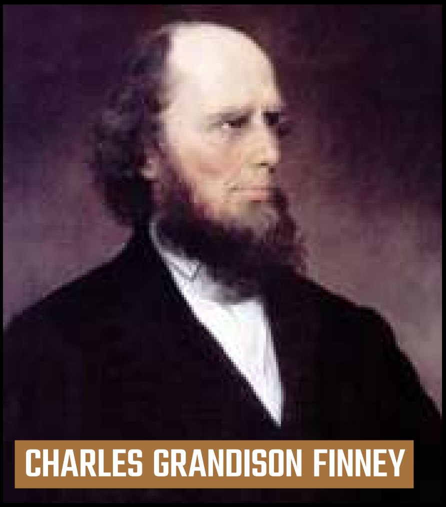
BENJAMIN RUSH

A Pennsylvania physician during the Colonial period and surgeon general of the Continental Army, Benjamin Rush was one of the earliest Americans to raise concerns surrounding the consumption of 'hard liquor'. He was also a signer of the Declaration of Independence and saw some medicinal value in the moderate drinking of beer and wine.



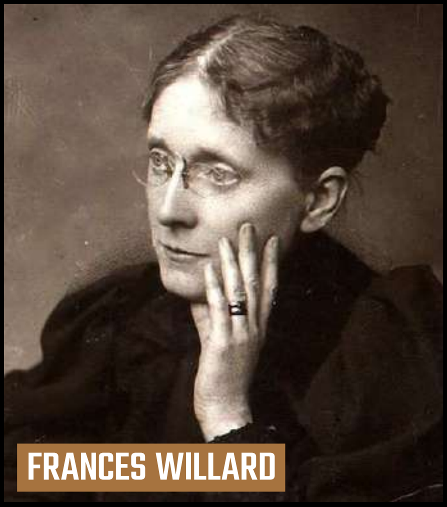
LYMAN BEECHER

A Presbyterian minister and co-founder of the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance, Lyman Beecher published his influential work *Six Sermons on Intemperance* in 1826 and called alcohol abuse a national sin during the 1820s and 1830s. He was the father of 13 children, including Harriet Beecher Stowe, who was the author of the anti-slavery novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*



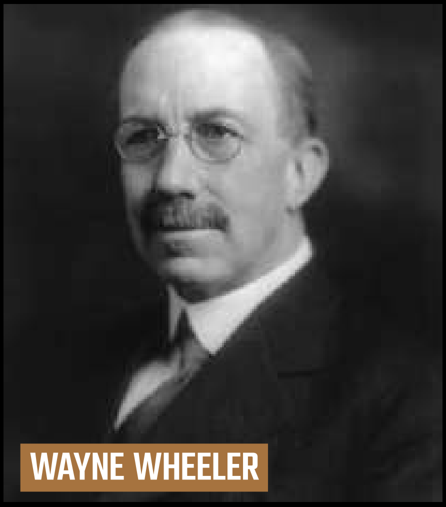
CHARLES GRANDISON FINNEY

The father of modern revivalism, Presbyterian minister Charles Grandison Finney preached against alcohol, slavery and other social issues that garnered increasing attention during the Second Great Awakening. His great revival in Rochester, New York, in 1830-31 led to many such gatherings across the region that included appeals to individuals to sign pledges against drinking.



FRANCES WILLARD

The second president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Frances Willard served from 1879 to 1898, and shaped the future of the organisation with a broadened mission, as explained in her "do everything" philosophy that addressed a variety of social issues during the late 19th century, while abstinence from alcohol was the organisation's central theme.



WAYNE WHEELER

The foremost leader of the Anti-Saloon League during the early 20th century, Wayne Wheeler's tactic of political persuasion and coercion of lawmakers to obtain favourable votes was a critical element in the success of the temperance movement that led to the adoption of the 18th Amendment and the implementation of Prohibition in the US.

> "IN 1826, THE AVERAGE AMERICAN OVER THE AGE OF 15 WAS CONSUMING SEVEN GALLONS OF ALCOHOL PER YEAR – THREE TIMES THE MODERN CONSUMPTION"

nature of the Christian denominations. They refused to see drunkenness as a sin and rapidly found themselves under attack by Christian-motivated reformers.

By 1845, the Washingtonians had begun to wane under attacks from the evangelical element of the temperance movement because they refused to label alcoholics as sinners. However, the Washingtonians themselves suffered reputational erosion as some members of their rank and file slid back into alcoholism, sometimes in quite public displays. Internal viewpoints on anti-alcohol legislation further divided the Washingtonians, and other organisations stepped up to offer sympathy and outreach to the individual alcoholic. The Good Samaritans and the Sons of Temperance held meetings that were closed to the public, required members to meet certain qualifications and levied fines for offences.

DURING ITS BUSIEST PERIOD, THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE'S PRINTED PUBLICATIONS EXCEEDED 40 TONS OF ANTI-ALCOHOL PROPAGANDA PER MONTH

Still, by the 1850s, the general temperance movement was pivoting towards government regulation and away from its focus on the individual and families impacted by the affliction of alcoholism. In 1855, Massachusetts had passed a law banning the sale of certain types of liquor, while the Michigan legislature had designated the authority to act on temperance issues to local municipalities. In 1846, the state of Maine passed the first state-wide law in the US prohibiting the sale of alcoholic drinks. It was followed in 1851 by the famous Maine Liquor Law. Spearheaded by activist and politician Neal Dow, known as the 'Napoleon of Temperance' and the 'Father of Prohibition', the effort to draft such a law was opposed by members of the hearty working class in Maine, as well as large numbers of immigrants who had settled in the state. However, with the passage of the Maine Liquor Law a new era in the temperance movement had dawned.

The law stated that the production and sale of alcoholic beverages was forbidden except for "medicinal, mechanical or manufacturing purposes."

Rioting erupted in Portland, where Dow was mayor, and the city hall was attacked because demonstrators believed Dow was keeping liquor in the basement.

The Maine Liquor Law was repealed in 1856, but during its short tenure the measure was lauded across the globe, spawning similar legislation in 12 other states by 1855. These were quickly labelled 'Dry' states as opposed to 'Wet' states, where alcohol remained legal. The strength of the temperance movement in Maine kept the issue at the political forefront even after the repeal of the Liquor Law, and various measures were reconstituted in the years to come, leading to Prohibition being written into the state constitution in 1885.

International cooperation was a primary strength of the emerging temperance movement, and one of the most effective organisations in bringing this about was the Order of the Good Templars, founded in Utica, New York, in 1851. Describing itself as the "premier global interlocutor for evidence-based policy measures and community-based interventions to prevent and reduce harm caused by alcohol and other drugs", the order was founded as a fraternal organisation that admitted both men and women and initially made no racial distinctions among its members. The merging of two earlier groups under the leadership of newspaper editor and politician Wesley Bailey marked the birth of the Good Templars.

British activist Joseph Mains returned to his homeland in 1868 and established the first international Good Templars lodge in Birmingham, England. Within the next few years, the group spread like wildfire across Europe and the rest of the world, with lodges in China, Japan, India, the Caribbean, France, Portugal, South Africa, Argentina and Central America. By the turn of the 20th century, more groups were established in the Netherlands, Burma and on the African continent. During the late 1970s, the group still numbered roughly 700,000 members worldwide.

WOMEN TAKE THE TEMPERANCE LEAD

FROM ITS INCEPTION, THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT WAS MOTIVATED AND GUIDED BY A NUMBER OF INFLUENTIAL FEMALE LEADERS

The role of women in the success of the temperance movement during more than a century of effort cannot be diminished.

Women became prime temperance activists largely due to their religious motivation and the obvious ill effects of drinking that many of them experienced first hand. As the nation grew, so did the availability of liquor, beer and wine, and women made pioneering contributions to fight against this insidious foe.

WINE IS A MOCKER
SAVE OUR GIRLS
RUM

Members of a Woman's Christian Temperance Union chapter sing *Dry, Clean California*

By the early 1830s, at least 24 temperance organisations led by women were active in the US. Middle-class Protestant women, imbued with the moral conviction that drinking is a sin, mobilised. Interrupted somewhat by the coming of the Civil War, they pursued their agenda with renewed vigour in the 1870s with the founding of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the work of its prominent leaders, Sarah 'Annie' Turner Wittenmyer and Frances Willard. At the same time, women's suffrage brought the support of leaders such as Susan B Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who found common purpose in advancing social welfare. Eventually, the WCTU became a political force to be reckoned with as its membership blossomed.

One of the most visible and radical elements of the temperance movement was led by women such as Carrie Nation, whose violent destruction of a saloon with rocks and a hatchet led to arrests and newspaper headlines across the US. While her approach was controversial, it was effective in raising the profile of the temperance movement.

Both during and after the American Civil War, the roots of the temperance movement in the Christian gospel remained firm. During the period known as the Third Great Awakening in the mid-19th century, several organisations came to the forefront of the temperance movement and exerted tremendous influence in shaping its future. Amid the revivals, camp meetings and altar calls for repentance, preachers clamoured for commitments to abstinence from alcohol.

Founded in London in 1844 under the guidance of philanthropist Sir George Williams, the Young Men's Christian Association, popularly known as the YMCA, espoused a motto of developing a healthy "body, mind and spirit". Along with its counterpart directed at young women, the YWCA, the organisation became relevant as young men flocked to cities while seeking employment during the Industrial Revolution. Offering housing in a wholesome environment along with recreational activities that hopefully steered young people away from the vices of alcohol consumption, gambling, prostitution and street crime, the organisation, headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland, gained momentum in the United States as well, and continues to be active today in promoting physical fitness and positive diversion in a Christian evangelical context. In 1865, the Salvation Army was founded in London as a religious organisation in the Wesleyan-Arminian and Methodist traditions, and soon it was active in America, too. Its initial focus was on social welfare, and among its first converts were reformed alcoholics and drug addicts.

During the Victorian period, the temperance movement edged toward stronger legislative action to eradicate the consumption of alcohol rather than efforts to simply curb its abuse. The post-Civil War period saw the effort expand to a tangible mass movement.

In the political arena, the Prohibition Party was founded in 1869, with Methodist minister John Russell of Michigan as its first chairman. The oldest third party in American politics, the organisation's primary platform was support for the temperance movement. Fielding presidential candidates in every US election since 1872, the party was most influential during the years prior to Prohibition and actually garnered about 5,600 votes in the election of 2016. In the early 1900s, Californian Charles H Randall was elected three times to the US Congress as a member of the Prohibition Party, while Sidney J Catts was elected governor of Florida in 1916.

Among the earliest organised women's organisations to join the crusade against strong drink was the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), founded in Hillsboro, Ohio, on 23 December 1873, and firmly established at a national convention in Cleveland, Ohio, the following year. Within a decade an international component of the organisation was operational. The WCTU boldly stated that its raison d'être was to create a "sober and pure world" through purity and abstinence from alcohol on the firm foundation of evangelical Christianity.

Under the leadership of its first two presidents, Sarah 'Annie' Turner Wittenmyer and Frances Willard, the WCTU rapidly grew in numbers and espoused the slogan

VOTE ? ? MINN. DRY
RED STANDS BRAVERY
BLUE STANDS FOR LOYALTY
PROHIBITION WHERE - MINN..
HELP US BY YOUR VOTE
PURITY OUR MOTTO
LET US HELP YOU VOTE

Women from Minnesota march for temperance in 1917, around the time that the United States entered World War I

"THE PROHIBITION PARTY HAS FIELDED PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES IN EVERY US ELECTION SINCE 1872. IT GARNERED ABOUT 5,600 VOTES IN THE 2016 ELECTION"

ABSTAIN
CHILDRENS

Well-dressed men, women and children stand with a wagon as they begin a march in favour of temperance

A temperance parade complete with vehicles and marchers hits the streets of Chicago in this photo taken in 1908

Carrie Nation inspired others to violently attack drinking establishments in the name of the temperance movement

C. KINCAID CAFE SALOON

A preacher delivers a message of sobriety in front of a saloon located in Corbin, Kentucky written by the ancient Greek philosopher Xenophon, "…moderation in all things healthful; total abstinence from all things harmful." Willard served as president of the organisation from 1879 until her death in 1898, and by 1890 the WCTU was the largest women's organisation in the world. Taking aim at the evils of tobacco and other social issues as well, the group was led by feminists who eventually joined forces with the suffrage movement of the early 20th century, appealing to its leaders Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B Anthony.

Wittenmyer and Willard differed in their approaches to accomplishing the aims of the WCTU. Wittenmyer didn't want to extend beyond the focus of the group, which centred on individuals who were enslaved to alcohol, citing morality as its motivation and attempting to reform those who had succumbed to the temptations of liquor because of low moral fibre. Willard, however, saw women as the "morally superior" gender and believed the power of the vote would propel the efforts of the WCTU to new heights. She advocated the "do everything" philosophy, saw value in an alliance with the suffrage movement, and sought such social reforms as an eight-hour workday, a reasonable living wage and equal justice under the law for everyone. Her methods included preaching, social activism, prison reform and temperance instruction that reached into the classrooms of public schools. By 1927, despite the factionalism within its ranks, the WCTU had grown to 766,000 members in 40 countries.

By the turn of the 20th century, the temperance movement had become a part of the fabric of everyday life in America. Approximately one in ten citizens are believed to have signed a pledge of abstinence of some sort by that time. Temperance activists mobilised to offer lectures, lobbying efforts in legislative halls, international conferences, school textbooks, shelters for recovering alcoholics and anti-liquor petitions. The trend towards higher visibility and a much more vocal position took control of the effort during the next 20 years.

Among the prime movers of temperance to surface during the period was the Anti-Saloon League (ASL), which was founded in Oberlin, Ohio, in 1893. Originally a regional organisation, it quickly spread nationwide from its headquarters in the Ohio capital of Columbus and then the city of Westerly. Protestant clergymen strongly supported the Anti-Saloon League, and its leader, attorney and outspoken Prohibitionist Wayne Wheeler developed a programme of pressure politics, leveraging the media and public opinion to persuade or even coerce politicians into taking action favourable to the temperance movement. To that end, the ASL operated the American Issue Publishing Company to spread the organisation's message across the country.

Wheeler created a systematic method of political persuasion that came to be known as Wheelerism, and proved to be remarkably effective. He believed that simply asking for a vote in favour of Prohibition was not forceful or effective enough to persuade lawmakers to act. Instead, Wheeler asked constituents to flood the offices of Congressmen with letters and telegrams, and, amid the avalanche of correspondence, newspapers acknowledged his growing influence. *The Cincinnati Enquirer*, for example, called Wheeler "the strongest political force of his day."

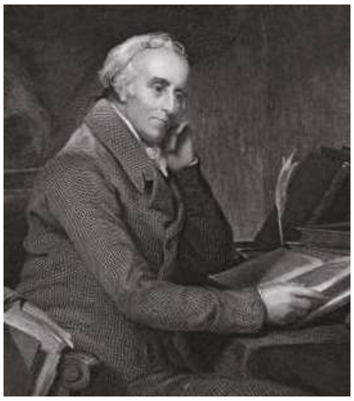
During its 20th anniversary convention in 1913, the leadership of the ASL announced the organisation's intent to press Congress into national Prohibition through the ratification of an amendment to the US Constitution. Through strong ties with other groups in the temperance movement, particularly the WCTU, the

PROHIBITION PARTY PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE JOHN BIDWELL OF CALIFORNIA RECEIVED MORE THAN 270,000 VOTES IN THE ELECTION OF 1892

THE TEMPERANCE TIMELINE

Defining moment
Benjamin Rush Publishes
1790

Physician, politician and social reformer Rush publishes *An Inquiry into the Effects of Spirituous Liquors on the Human Body*. The account draws attention to drinking, and includes means of preventing and curing its effects.



Defining moment
WCTU Takes Shape
1873

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, destined to become the largest temperance organisation of its kind, is formed in Ohio and subsequently spreads worldwide with more than 700,000 members.

1826

American Temperance Society Formed
The leading organisation of its type during the Second Great Awakening, the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance is formed in Boston, Massachusetts to focus on the growing social problem of alcoholism.

1828

Beecher's Bible-based Warning
Presbyterian minister Lyman Beecher's *Six Sermons on Intemperance* calls attention to the sinfulness of drinking alcohol. The book is reprinted many times and in numerous languages.

1830-31

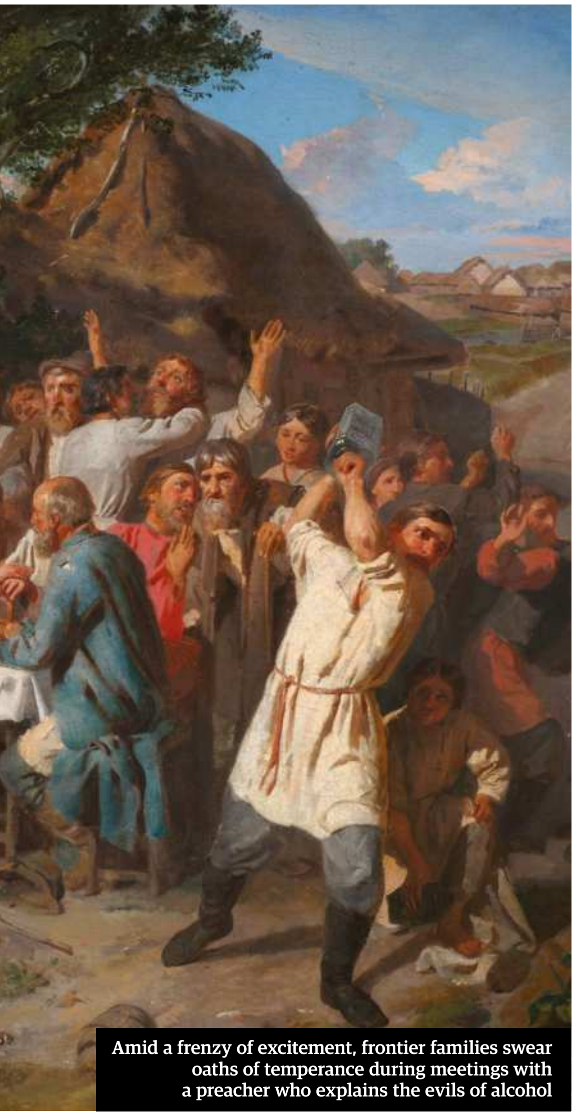
Great Rochester Revival
During a major revival meeting of the Second Great Awakening led by Charles Grandison Finney, worshippers are required to sign an abstinence pledge to receive forgiveness for their sins.

1840

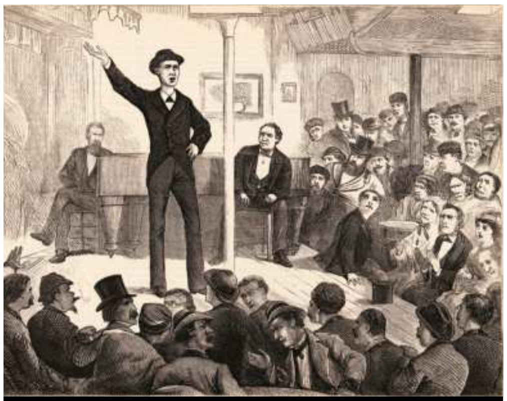
The Washingtonian Movement
Concentrating on the suffering of the individual alcoholic and offering sympathy and support, the Washingtonians, founded in Maryland, take a decidedly social approach to fighting the scourge of drink.

1851

The Maine Liquor Law
A landmark law is enacted in Maine, mandating full Prohibition and influencing similar legislative action in a dozen more states, although it is repealed in 1856 following the eruption of violence.



Amid a frenzy of excitement, frontier families swear oaths of temperance during meetings with a preacher who explains the evils of alcohol



A speaker delivers a powerful message against drinking during a temperance meeting held in New York

QUORS AND CIGARS.
FRITZ
GRO

This probable temperance publicity photo supposedly depicts a drunk passed out in front of a San Francisco bar

ASL was instrumental in achieving favourable outcomes in the elections of 1916. Susan B Anthony remarked, "The only hope of the Anti-Saloon League's success lies in putting the ballot into the hands of women."

An additional boost to the temperance movement in the United States came as an unintended consequence of the outbreak of World War I. The US government enacted measures to limit or suspend the use of grain for the production of alcohol, asserting that the foodstuff was needed to feed a hungry army overseas and to provide relief for the starving refugees of war-ravaged Europe.

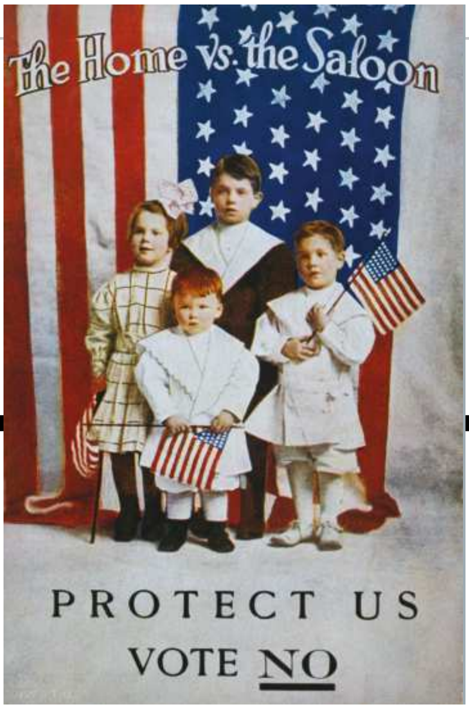
Shrewdly, the ASL partnership with the WCTU and the suffrage movement proved advantageous for both causes. Seeking 'Dry' majorities in both the US House of Representatives and the Senate, the temperance effort was successful, and Wheeler's tactics were largely responsible for the transformative passage of the National Prohibition Act in 1919 and the ratification of the 18th Amendment that followed in 1920, making Prohibition the law of the land.

Few movements in American history have mobilised to such great effect as the march of temperance. However, the expected achievement of far-reaching social reform that would result from the eradication of alcohol remained illusory – much more a mirage of theory than a concrete success in practice. After all, the constitutional amendment did not prohibit consumption, and the commerce and trafficking of alcohol that it did prohibit merely went underground and became the province of the criminal element.

Characterised by a cadre of committed leaders and the dedication of millions of adherents, the temperance movement reached its zenith with the enactment of Prohibition. However, as the noble experiment began to lose its lustre, so did the organised effort that had provided its energy and shrill voice.

1861

● **Civil War Interruption**
The coming of the Civil War disrupts temperance efforts partially due to the US government's need for the tax revenue generated through alcohol commerce. The war ends four years later.



The Home vs. the Saloon
PROTECT US
VOTE NO

Defining moment

Anti-Saloon League Forms

1893

The Anti-Saloon League is established in Ohio. Under the aggressive leadership of Wayne Wheeler, the organisation exerts tremendous influence on legislators and hastens the coming of the 18th Amendment.

1900

● **Hacking Up A Saloon**
Militant temperance activist Carrie Nation, guided by an apparent vision from God, storms into a saloon and begins destroying its wares with a hatchet in a violent response to the evils of alcohol.

1913

● **Towards A Constitutional Amendment**
Leaders of the Anti-Saloon League announce their intent to introduce temperance through the law via an amendment to the US Constitution. The move fosters the adoption of the 18th Amendment.

1929

● **The Movement Falters**
After the adoption of Prohibition in America, an emerging criminal element engaged in alcohol trafficking and the coming of the Great Depression begins to erode the influence of the temperance movement.

WE WANT BEER

A group of anti-Prohibition marchers make their sentiment clear during a rally against the 18th Amendment during the 1920s

WE WANT BEER
WE WANT BEER
WE

OPPONENTS OF PROHIBITION

THE OPPONENTS OF PROHIBITION, KNOWN AS 'WETS', MOBILISED AGAINST THE 18TH AMENDMENT FOR A VARIETY OF REASONS

They were wealthy and poor, native-born and immigrant, industrialist and farmer, priest and reformer. And they all saw injustice in Prohibition, the sweeping attempt at social engineering that banned the manufacture, sale, transportation and distribution of alcoholic beverages for consumption.

Although their reasons for opposing the idea of Prohibition, the 112 words of the 18th Amendment that made it law, and the Volstead Act that gave it the power of legal enforcement, the diverse group of opponents, known commonly as 'Wets', campaigned against the ban on alcohol and were eventually successful with its repeal after nearly 14 years of controversy.

When Prohibition went into effect in January 1920, the fifth-largest industry in the United States, the business of liquor and beer, was essentially in jeopardy of extinction. Going out of business meant the idling of workers, the loss of alcohol-related tax revenue and the immediate emergence of an underground economy based on the supply and demand for liquor that remained, even though it had been deemed illegal. The coercion and efficiency of the 'Dry' movement, led by Wayne B Wheeler of the Anti-Saloon League, temporarily prevailed as Wheeler led the charge for the ratification of the 18th Amendment. He effectively wielded 'Wheelerism', or pressure tactics, to threaten politicians at local, state and federal levels into supporting Prohibition legislation or risk the wrath of the Dry machine, which would likely bring enough voters to the polls to defeat any candidate who did not bend to Wheeler's will.

In response to the well-financed and strategically savvy Dry movement, the Wet faction came somewhat late to the battle. During pre-Prohibition days, the opponents of the measure were not nearly as well organised or as vocal as their adversaries. Then, as the

United States went dry, the momentum of the Wet faction increased. After five years, journalist HL Mencken wrote of the situation, "There is not less drunkenness in the republic, but more. Not less crime, but more. There is not less insanity, but more. The cost of government is not smaller, but vastly greater. Respect for the law has not increased, but diminished."

Indeed, amid the apparent failures of Prohibition millions of Americans had already begun to back away from their early support of the alcohol ban. Although the consumption of alcohol was curtailed and reports indicated that issues with alcohol-related death and disease were trending positively, these gains were only temporary. The average American, therefore, observed several disturbing phenomena. They were saddled with a federal income tax that had been approved by constitutional amendment essentially to replace the revenue lost from the abolition of alcohol. They enjoyed an occasional alcoholic beverage but were not drunks and found it increasingly difficult to legally obtain refreshment. Although they might be breaking the law, they frequented the speakeasy or roadhouse to buy a beer or shot of whiskey. After all, more and more Americans were simply ignoring the law when it came to Prohibition. They watched the growth of organised crime and read the headlines surrounding gang wars and high-profile murders. They were aware of the hypocrisy of politicians who publicly pontificated in favour of Prohibition and patronised their own bootlegger connections while drinking behind closed doors. All this over a simple pleasure that at one time had held no mystery, no aura of wrongdoing, as long as it was conducted in moderation and did not infringe on the rights of others.

The problems that Prohibition had been intended to cure; drunkenness, domestic violence, crime, overcrowded jails and court dockets, and poor public health persisted. Some elected officials, despite the threats of the Anti-Saloon League and Wayne Wheeler, remained ardent opponents of Prohibition. Massachusetts Congressman George Tinkham blasted the 18th Amendment and earned the nickname 'Wettest of the Wet' among American legislators. As more Americans began to perceive Prohibition as a failure, whether it actually was or not, the movement for repeal of the 18th Amendment gained strength. With its roots in evangelical Christian Protestantism, Prohibition was seen by some as a movement to foist the morals of rural Protestants on those who lived in American cities, those who immigrated from Europe and brought their traditions with them, and those who simply wanted to legally enjoy a glass of beer.

For the Drys, any institution or individual that opposed their effort was fair game. The brewing industry, for example, was strongly associated with German immigrants, and when the United States entered World War I in April 1917, that industry was vilified. Wisconsin Lieutenant Governor John Strange commented, "We have German enemies across the water. We have

JOHN D ROCKEFELLER JR GAVE UP TO $700,000 TO THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE BUT LATER FAVOURED REPEAL OF PROHIBITION

"GEORGE TINKHAM BLASTED THE 18TH AMENDMENT AND EARNED THE NICKNAME 'WETTEST OF THE WET' AMONG AMERICAN LEGISLATORS"

BREWERS STRUGGLE TO REMAIN VIABLE

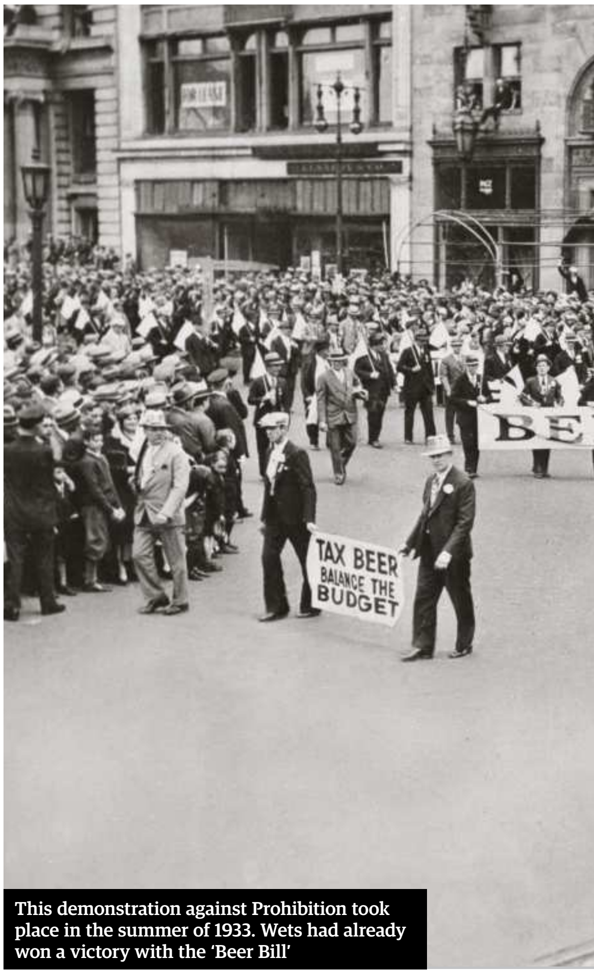
DURING PROHIBITION, COMPANIES THAT HAD BREWED MILLIONS OF GALLONS OF BEER WERE FORCED TO FIND OTHER WAYS TO STAY IN BUSINESS

When President Woodrow Wilson banned the production of beer during WWI, he signed the measure in September 1918, and it went into effect in December – after the war was over. Nevertheless, the ban remained in effect. At the time, Anheuser-Busch had enough beer in its tanks to last until June 1919, but in that year the mammoth brewer produced only 218,000 barrels of beer. In contrast, it had brewed more than a million barrels each year from 1901 to 1915.

As Prohibition came into force, the brewers' situation became dire. Some closed their doors forever. The William J Lemp Brewing Company was sold in 1922 to the International Shoe Company for only $588,000. Anheuser-Busch sold off vehicles and real estate and weathered four years of operating losses totalling $5.6 million between 1919 and 1922. The company broke even in 1923, but one of the reasons for the turn in fortunes was its investment in other products. Along with several brewers, Anheuser-Busch, Pabst and others marketed near-beer, a malt beverage with alcohol content below the 0.5 per cent volume mandated by law. The Anheuser-Busch product was called 'Bevo', and the company also experimented by removing alcohol from its Budweiser beer. Surprisingly, when Pabst entered the dairy market and began selling cheese, over eight million pounds of it, Kraft filed a lawsuit to protect its interests and won in court.

After President Franklin D Roosevelt signed the 'Beer Bill' into law, 1.5 million gallons were consumed on its first legal day at 3.2 per cent alcohol by volume on 7 April 1933.

An Anheuser-Busch horse-drawn wagon is loaded with beer and ready to make deliveries in 1933



This demonstration against Prohibition took place in the summer of 1933. Wets had already won a victory with the 'Beer Bill'

German enemies in this country, too. And the worst of all our German enemies, the most treacherous, the most menacing, are Pabst, Schlitz, Blatz and Miller." Each of these was the name of a popular German-American brewing enterprise.

Strange's remarks were not only inflammatory against German-American citizens, but also smacked of a smouldering nativism, or prejudice against those who had come to the United States as foreign-born immigrants in favour of the supposed interests of citizens born in the US. The Prohibition effort, therefore, aroused a curious blend of anti-immigrant sentiment. German, French, Italian, Irish and Eastern European immigrants were perceived as enemies of moral behaviour as they corrupted American society with their supposedly dangerous beer, wine, champagne and whiskey. They were agents for the primary adversary of Prohibition – demon alcohol.

> ADOLPHUS BUSCH WAS FOND OF WEARING MEDALS AND DECORATIONS, INCLUDING ONE HE RECEIVED FROM KAISER WILHELM II OF GERMANY

Business and industry leaders realised their workers were no more productive during Prohibition than they had been in earlier days. Leaders of organised labour warned Congress that making beer illegal might generate a wave of unrest among workers. Many women concluded that family-related concerns were not effectively addressed. Each of these constituencies, at first loosely allied and later in cooperation with one another, formed anti-Prohibition groups that raised their dissenting voice to a crescendo in the late-1920s. By the time Prohibition was repealed in 1933, as many as 40 organisations were active with the stated goal of ending the 'noble experiment'.

Meanwhile, the brewing industry diversified, doing its best to stay afloat. Anheuser-Busch, the St Louis-based brewer of Budweiser, the first nationally distributed beer in America, began producing soft drinks, corn syrup, egg products and even truck bodies among 25 non-alcoholic products. The Coors Brewing Company of Colorado became the largest producer of malted milk in the world, and its investment in porcelain products resulted in a ceramic production business that survives today. Breweries such as Yuengling and Pabst entered the dairy business, producing ice cream and cheese. Vintners began making grape 'bricks' that could be fermented in the home and turned into wine for personal consumption. Six major distilleries managed to stay in business by registering for licences to produce whiskey for medical purposes.

Pauline Morton Sabin, leader of the Women's Organisation for National Prohibition Reform, is triumphantly carried during an anti-Prohibition rally

A group of Congressmen raise glasses of beer to toast their support for the end of Prohibition

ER
BEER BOOTLEGGERS PAY NO TAX
90,000,000 BARRELS BARLEY USED 1918 FOR BEER

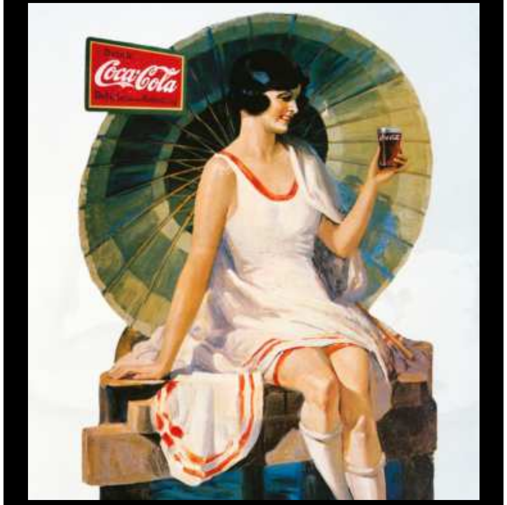
YOU
Come
ENROLL AGAINST PROHIBITION
NO DUES
Members of the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform recruit with a sign that says 'No Dues'

THE SOFT DRINK EXPLOSION

THE PROHIBITION ERA USHERED IN UNPRECEDENTED POPULARITY FOR SOFT DRINKS AS CONSUMERS PURCHASED THEM REGULARLY

The dominant soft drink of the past 150 years, Coca-Cola was invented in the 1860s, and other sweet, non-alcoholic carbonated beverages came along as well. With Prohibition their popularity surged to new heights. Americans bought and drank soft drinks with a gusto that mirrored their love of pre-Prohibition beer. Other entrepreneurs developed their own soft drinks, including Charles Hires, a pharmacist in Philadelphia whose recipe for root beer was the product of several such beverages that dated back to Colonial America. Hires was marketed directly to the public as a 'temperance drink'. Sales of Coca-Cola alone tripled during Prohibition.

During the 1860s, Dr Thomas Bramwell Welch received permission from the administration of the Methodist Church to use his product, Dr Welch's Unfermented Wine, as a substitute for real wine in the sacrament of communion. Welch's Grape Juice, a familiar brand today, established tremendous sales records during the Prohibition years. In 1924, the Chero-Cola/Union Bottle Works Company, founded by Columbus, Georgia, pharmacist Claud A Hatcher, who was already selling Royal Crown Ginger Ale and later entered the cola market, introduced Nehi, a soft drink that was offered in several fruit flavours, including grape, orange and peach. The business changed its name to the Nehi Corporation and later to Royal Crown.



Coca-Cola and other soft drinks enjoyed tremendous popularity during Prohibition, and their advertising was effective in popularising their beverages

Adolphus Busch built his family's brewing business into the largest enterprise of its kind in the US, a sprawling 70-acre facility on the St Louis riverfront. Members of the brewers associations looked to the company to respond to the Prohibitionists. He curried favour with politicians, newspaper editors, and others with bribes and paid poll taxes for Mexican and Black voters in the state of Texas because he believed they were likely to vote in favour of beer sales. When his father died in 1913, August Anheuser Busch Sr took over the family business and shepherded the enterprise through the Prohibition years.

The German-American Alliance, formed to preserve and promote German culture in America, became an organisation dedicated to defeating "The Prohibitionists' assault on German manners and customs and the joviality of the German people." Over two million Americans joined, and states with large populations of German extraction became less likely to vote in favour of anti-alcohol legislation. Still, the brewers were often at odds with the distillers of spirits, pointing an accusing finger at liquor producers while promoting beer as a 'healthy' drink.

Organised labour was among the most powerful components of the Wet movement. In January 1931, the American Federation of Labor (AFL) formed its National Committee for the Modification of the Volstead Act. Matthew Woll, a co-founder of the committee, lashed out at Congress and noted that American taxpayers, members of the working class, were footing the bill for those engaged "in racketeering, gangsterism, debased morality and poisoned citizenship." He added that Prohibition had become a "miserable fiasco" and a "most tragic mistake."

In March 1931, the AFL's National Committee for the Modification of the Volstead Act added an advisory committee formed with representatives of 75 national and international labour unions. Labour leaders argued that the 18th Amendment marked the first time in American history that citizens were deprived of their rights rather than protecting or augmenting personal liberties. As early as December 1917, while the nation wrestled with the idea of Prohibition and involvement in World War I, AFL President Samuel Gompers had written an open letter to the *Washington Times* newspaper. He commented, "In addition to and quite apart from the direct injury which the Prohibition amendment to the Constitution would inflict upon the workers primarily involved, I am constrained to say that the turmoil and

BRUTAL PROHIBITION-RELATED CRIME LED FRED G CLARK TO FORM THE CRUSADERS IN 1929, ADVOCATING REPEAL AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

Blatz Old Heidelberg BEER

Men and women celebrate the end of Prohibition in Chicago in 1933

dissension which are sure to be generated in the minds of our people as the result of this Prohibition proposition causes me mental and conscious disturbance."

Organised in 1923, the Moderation League of New York worked with the AFL and the Constitutional Liberty League of Massachusetts to urge Congress to modify the definition of 'intoxicating liquors' under the Volstead Act. Although the group's name implied a state-level perspective, its efforts were national in scope. With its support, at least 100 bills were introduced into the House of Representatives along with Senate Bill No 1524. These measures sought to modify the Volstead Act, changing the content of 'intoxicating liquor' from 0.5 per cent alcohol content by volume to 2.75 per cent. None of these attempts succeeded, but the organisation successfully raised the profile of the anti-Prohibition movement. In 1926 its members conducted a survey of 602 police departments across the United States and concluded that violations of Prohibition laws had risen dramatically over the years, while arrests had increased sharply in states that were already dry before Prohibition became law.

The Association Against the Prohibition Amendment (AAPA), founded by William H Stayton in 1918, was one of the country's largest and most effective anti-Prohibition organisations. Included in its ranks were powerful businessmen and industrialists, politicians, and a former mayor of New York City. The Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform (WONPR) was founded in 1929 by Pauline Morton Sabin and became the most influential organisation of Wet women with over 1.5 million members at its peak.

Working as an auxiliary of the AAPA, the Molly Pitcher Club, named after a heroine of the Revolutionary War, was comprised of women. Founded in 1922 by M Louise Gross, the organisation's position was clear in condemning the "tendency on the part of our National Government to interfere with the personal habits of the American people except those habits which may be designated as criminal." The group also lobbied New York Governor Al Smith to repeal state laws on Prohibition.

The Molly Pitcher Club never became national in scope; however, it was influential for some time in New York and Pennsylvania. When its momentum slowed, Gross led a reinvention of the organisation as the Women's Committee for the Modification of the Volstead Act, later renamed the Women's Committee for the Repeal of the 18th Amendment.

Attorneys got into the anti-Prohibition Act in 1927 when an influential group headed by Joseph H Choate founded the Voluntary Committee of Lawyers with a focused mission statement against it, which read in part: "The 18th Amendment and the Volstead Act violate the basic principles of our law and government and encroach upon the powers properly reserve to the states and the people [...] the attempt to enforce them has been productive of such evils and abuses as are necessarily incident to a violation of these principles, including disrespect for law, obstruction of the due administration of justice, corruption of public officials, abuse of legal process, resort by the government to improper and illegal acts in the procurement of evidence and infringement of such constitutional guarantees as immunity from double jeopardy and illegal search and seizure."

Prior to the Republican National Convention of 1932, during which Herbert Hoover was nominated as the party's choice for re-election as president, prominent members formed the Republican Citizens Committee Against National Prohibition. Among the founders were Choate, Lammot du Pont, Raymond Pitcairn of the Pittsburgh Paint and Glass Company, Pennsylvania legislator Thomas W Phillips of the powerful Phillips Oil and Gas Company, and Henry B Joy of the Packard Motor Company. The group pressed for a formal party position in favour of repeal of the Prohibition Act, but despite its efforts the platform stopped short, and issued a statement that was essentially neutral.

While the Wet faction was at times well organised, it was also sometimes uncoordinated in its efforts. Nevertheless, its ranks were a diverse lot, the wealthy and influential seeking first the modification and then the repeal of Prohibition laws right along with the working people across the United States. In the end, the experience itself contributed as much to the end of Prohibition as the Wet lobby did. By the early-1930s, support for Prohibition had eroded significantly as the lustre of its promise had faded with the realisation that legislating morality was – and remains – a nearly impossible task.

RECEIVING A CASE OF BEER, NEW YORK GOVERNOR AL SMITH REMARKED, "MY ONLY REGRET IS THAT THE WAGONLOAD IS NOT ALL MINE"

"A SURVEY OF 602 POLICE DEPARTMENTS ACROSS THE US CONCLUDED THAT VIOLATIONS OF PROHIBITION LAWS HAD RISEN DRAMATICALLY OVER THE YEARS"

PROHIBITION AND PRIVACY

A 1928 RULING BY THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT HAD IMPLICATIONS BEYOND THE ISSUE OF PROHIBITION ALONE

Associate Justice of the Supreme Court Louis Brandeis wrote the dissenting opinion in the Olmstead case that was later vindicated

For both 'Wets' and 'Drys' Prohibition raised issues related to personal freedom. Roy Olmstead was a lieutenant with the police department in Seattle, Washington. He was also a successful bootlegger. His business was only halted with his arrest in 1928 based on evidence gathered through surveillance of phone conversations. For several months, federal agents listened to his discussions with customers and business associates. Olmstead was convicted of Prohibition-related violations.

Olmstead appealed his conviction on the grounds that the surveillance violated his constitutional rights under the 4th Amendment, which forbade unlawful search or seizure. The Supreme Court ruled against Olmstead, and Chief Justice William Howard Taft wrote, "...There was no searching and there was no seizure. The evidence was secured by the use of the sense of hearing and that only...." The ruling stood until 1967, when the court judged that wiretaps were subject to obtaining warrants. In the 1928 case, Justice Louis Brandeis dissented, famously stating the 4th Amendment had been violated and Olmstead deserved "the right to be left alone – the most comprehensive of our rights, and the right most valued by civilised man..."

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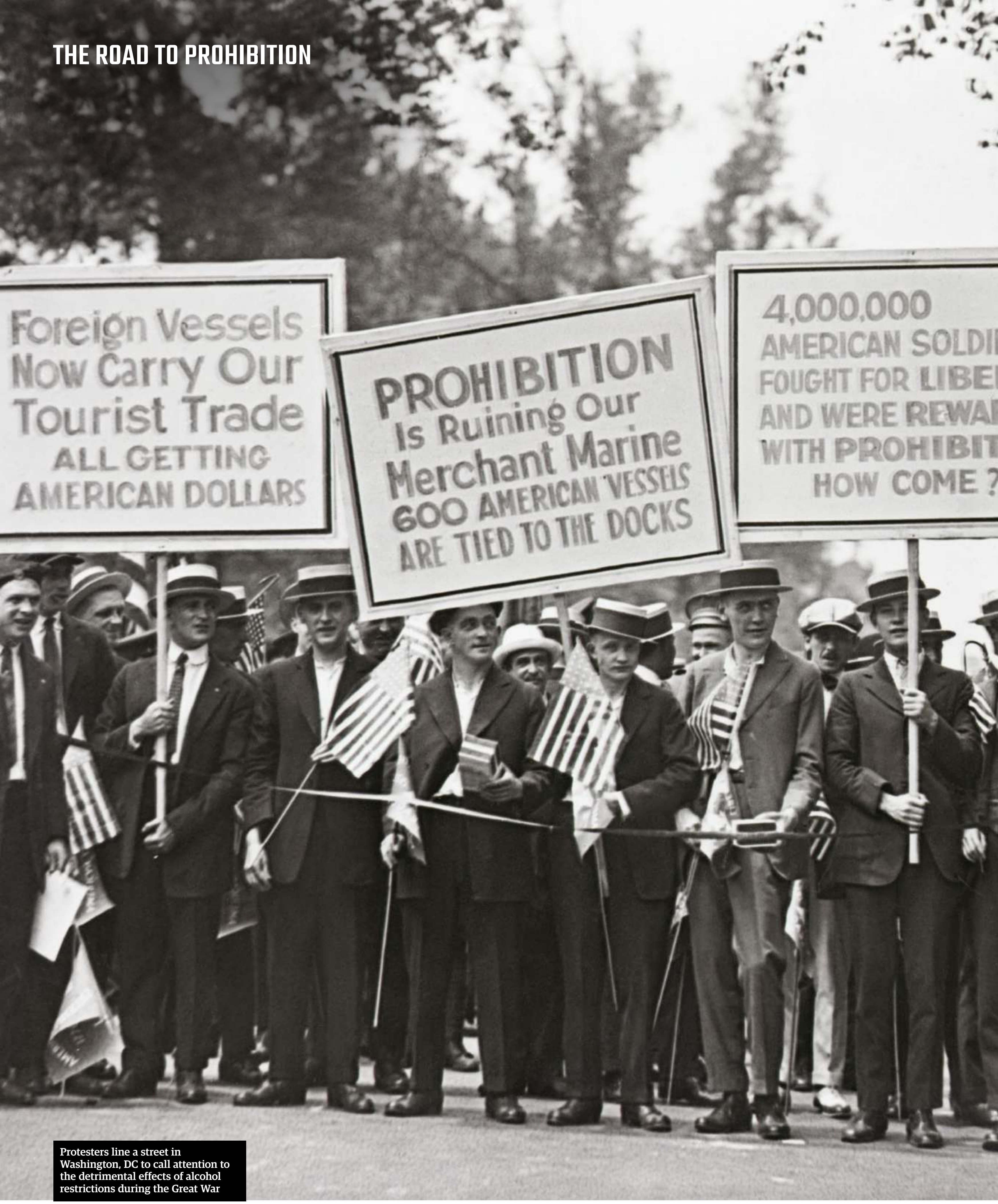

Foreign Vessels
Now Carry Our
Tourist Trade
ALL GETTING
AMERICAN DOLLARS
PROHIBITION
Is Ruining Our
Merchant Marine
600 AMERICAN VESSELS
ARE TIED TO THE DOCKS
4,000,000
AMERICAN SOLDI
FOUGHT FOR LIBE
AND WERE REWA
WITH PROHIBIT
HOW COME ?

Protesters line a street in Washington, DC to call attention to the detrimental effects of alcohol restrictions during the Great War

TO CONGRESS!
YOU CARE FOR OUR
CRIPPLED SOLDIERS
OUR MORALS WILL
CARE FOR THEMSELVES
LEAGUE

DRAFTEES AND THE DRINK

WORLD WAR I BROUGHT GREATER FOCUS ON THE PROHIBITION OF ALCOHOL IN THE US AND MADE DRINKING A SOMEWHAT UNPATRIOTIC ACTIVITY

The propaganda poster's message was stark. Illustrated with a combat soldier pointing an accusatory finger, it read: "Will *You* Back Me – or back Booze? Vote 'Yes' for Prohibition Nov. 5th." The message of the Ohio Dry Federation was clearly in support of an anti-alcohol measure at the state's polling places.

When the United States entered World War I in April 1917, the Selective Service Act passed that year in Congress specified strict control of liquor distribution and consumption by service personnel, and its regulation was in political and moral step with a temperance movement that had been active across the country for around 90 years. Contrary to some misconceptions, therefore, World War I did not cause the US government to enact Prohibition in its wake. Instead, the war became an ally of the temperance movement, and a powerful one at that.

The Anti-Saloon League, YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association), Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the United Committee on War Temperance and other organisations leveraged the experience of war to communicate the message that consuming alcohol was amoral and unpatriotic. Along with Germany and the Central Powers, American soldiers, they reasoned, were also fighting the horrors of liquor. Propagandists promoted the theory that American soldiers were crusaders fighting an enemy that was inherently evil, not only because of its political and cultural standards, but also because of its wanton alcohol consumption. Along with the evils of drinking alcohol, the spectre of starvation in Europe was apparent, and grain that was diverted from the production of food for the brewing of beer and distilling of spirits made the situation worse.

By the time the United States entered the Great War, the Prohibition movement was on the brink of prevailing against the 'Wet' faction. In the presidential election of 1916, neither Democratic incumbent President Woodrow Wilson nor his Republican opponent Charles Evans Hughes openly voiced an opinion on Prohibition, and it was not included in the policy platform of either party. Still, its influence weighed heavily on the nation. The introduction of a graduated personal income tax in 1913 with the 16th Amendment to the US Constitution lessened the government's dependence on tax revenue from alcohol commerce, while the promise of support for women's suffrage, granted by the 19th Amendment in 1920, brought more women into the 'Dry' fold. By 1917, the 65th US Congress convened with both parties heavily represented by those who favoured Prohibition, and the two-thirds majority needed for passage of legislation rested with them.

The voices of prominent pro-alcohol leaders were muted with the war. Particularly affected were the German-American brewers who'd come to the US generations earlier and brought their skills with them. The heirs of Adolphus Busch of the Anheuser-Busch brewing empire and Johann Gottfried Friedrich Pabst of the Pabst Brewing Company, for example, were marginalised when their fathers' native country became an enemy of the US and the Allied cause. Some zealous opponents deemed their product 'Kaiser brew'.

US SOLDIERS TEMPORARILY UNDER FRENCH COMMAND IN WORLD WAR I SOMETIMES RECEIVED RATIONS OF WINE AND COGNAC

Pragmatic President Wilson needed the support of 'Dry' legislators to enact his own policies, including the declaration of war that he'd tried so hard to avoid. The government took action in mid-1917 with the Lever Act and the Food and Fuel Control Act, regulating the uses of grain. Wilson appointed Herbert Hoover as the head of the US Food Administration, while Yale University economist Irving Fisher spearheaded the effort of the Committee of Sixty against using American grain for alcohol production with the motto, "Save 11,000,000 loaves of bread a day."

"DIVERTING GRAIN FROM THE PRODUCTION OF FOOD FOR THE BREWING OF BEER MADE THE EUROPEAN FOOD SHORTAGES WORSE"

In February 1918, President Wilson received a petition with the signatures of six million women demanding a ban on the manufacture and sale of beer. Although Wilson personally opposed the measure, its political impact could not be ignored. That summer, Hoover's Food Administration issued a mandate that all brewing of beer and malt liquor should end at midnight on 30 November 1918. Again, the German- and Irish-American brewers, who also were among the most prolific consumers of the product, were easy targets. The so-called Grain Crisis precipitated by the war had converged with the temperance movement to produce an avalanche of anti-alcohol sentiment. On 18 November 1918, after the armistice that ended the war, Congress, ironically, passed the Wartime Prohibition Act, while a resolution calling for an amendment to the Constitution that would make Prohibition the law of the land had already passed both the House of Representatives and the Senate the previous year.

When American soldiers reached the Western Front in France, their experience with wartime alcohol differed

ALCOHOL AND THE ALLIES

AMERICA'S ALLIES DURING WORLD WAR I EXPERIENCED THEIR OWN STRUGGLES WITH THE CONSUMPTION OF ALCOHOL

In January 1915, David Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer and future Prime Minister of Great Britain, told a gathering that Britain was "…fighting Germans, Austrians and Drink, and as far as I can see the greatest of these foes is Drink." He led an effort to reduce the consumption of alcohol in the British military during World War I, and in the country itself due to concerns over drunkenness affecting war production. King George V declared that no alcohol would be consumed at court for the duration of the conflict.

Kilted Scottish recruits to the British Army raise a toast before their deployment in October 1915

The British government restricted alcohol consumption with the Defence of the Realm Act in 1914, banning drinking on trains and making it a crime to "treat" another person to a drink. Beer consumption in Britain fell from around 400 million litres in 1914 to approximately 160 million in 1918. Still, the rum ration was a tradition in the British Army. Soldiers behind the frontlines or in rear areas were allotted 70ml twice weekly; those in the trenches received the allotment daily. Alcohol was commonly used to treat shell shock or for other medicinal purposes.

At the beginning of WWI, French soldiers were only issued water. That changed as rations of a half-litre of red wine per day for each soldier became common. If wine was unavailable, beer or cider was substituted. On special occasions a bottle of wine was given to soldiers to share. Tsar Nicholas II banned the production and sale of vodka in 1914, but alcoholism was rampant in the Russian Army throughout the war.

THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE PRESSED CONGRESS TO INVESTIGATE BREWING COMPANIES THAT MIGHT HAVE POLITICAL TIES TO GERMANY

American soldiers drink captured German wine and smoke captured German cigars liberated in a trench near Verdun fundamentally from that of their allies. Unlike British and French soldiers, for example, American troops were not issued rations of alcohol on a regular basis. The Americans were drawn to entertainment opportunities behind the lines, and these were often sponsored by organisations that advocated temperance. YMCA camps that were similar to those later operated during World War II by the USO steered them away from the allure of French bars, brothels and good-time houses.

The behaviour of the Americans sometimes aroused curiosity among the French civilian population. American journalist Heywood Broun wrote in 1918 of a group of American soldiers that sang several tunes for their French hosts. "Only one feature puzzled them profoundly," Broun noted. "At the end of a particularly effective song the captain said, 'Those men sang that very well. Bring 'em each a glass of water.' No villager could quite understand why a man who had committed no more palpable crime than tenor singing should be forced to partake of a drink which is cold, tasteless and watery."

Broun also discussed the futility of the Army's efforts to prevent the sale of alcohol directly to American soldiers. Beer was the most popular alcoholic beverage among the Doughboys, and Broun argued that the low alcohol content in the brew, along with that of most available wines, was not a "menace to the health or behaviour of our army." He wrote that a soldier was more likely to drown in the beverages before he would actually become incapacitated with drunkenness.

Despite the efforts of the Army and the temperance advocates, American soldiers enjoyed the liberties and life experiences of wartime France and other European countries. Alcohol offered a temporary escape from the privations of trench warfare, the horrors of gas attacks and the ever-present possibility of death on the battlefield or in a hospital suffering from disease. Culturally, the Europeans considered beer and wine as ordinary foodstuffs rather than intoxicants, and enforcing abstinence among the Americans in their midst was an exercise in futility.

PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON RECEIVED SUPPORT FROM 'DRY' CONGRESSMEN IN EXPANDING THE ARMED FORCES

Alcohol consumption by soldiers in wartime is a common and universal circumstance, and reports of American soldiers binge-drinking in French bars, wandering the streets of Paris while under the influence, and even drinking in the trenches did surface. However, the drinking habits of American troops abroad during World War I had little impact on the juggernaut of the Prohibition movement.

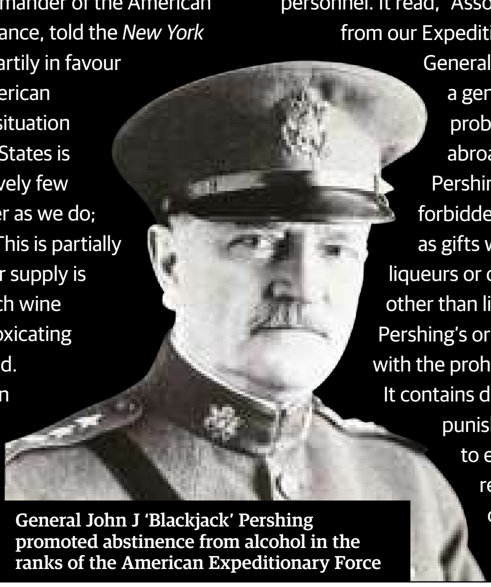
The real impact of the Great War on American temperance occurred at home. The Prohibitionists were positioned to achieve their long-sought goal of outlawing alcohol in the US before the first soldier boarded a ship bound for the European battlefields. When war came, the Prohibitionists effectively fused temperance with the moral military campaign against evil, winning the war against the unholy trio of beer, wine and liquor on the home front… but only for a few years.

GENERAL PERSHING AND PROHIBITION

THE COMMANDER OF THE AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE IN FRANCE FAVOURED ABSTINENCE FROM ALCOHOL FOR HIS TROOPS

In its 30 December 1917 edition, General John J 'Blackjack' Pershing, commander of the American Expeditionary Force in France, told the *New York Times*, "Although I am heartily in favour of prohibition for the American expeditionary force, the situation in France and the United States is not the same. Comparatively few French people drink water as we do; they drink wine instead. This is partially because the French water supply is not as pure as ours. French wine is light and much less intoxicating than is generally supposed. An intoxicated Frenchman is a rare sight indeed."

Three days later the weekly news magazine *The Outlook* offered its readers a perspective on the prohibition of alcohol among American service personnel. It read, "Associated Press despatches from our Expeditionary Force state that General Pershing has issued a general order covering the liquor problem among our soldiers abroad. In this order General Pershing announced: 'Soldiers are forbidden either to buy or accept as gifts whisky, brandy, champagne, liqueurs or other alcoholic beverages other than light wines or beers.' General Pershing's order, however, does not stop with the prohibition of heavy liquors. It contains drastic provision for the punishment of men who drink to excess, and also for holding responsible the commanding officer[s] of units in which drunkenness occurs."



General John J 'Blackjack' Pershing promoted abstinence from alcohol in the ranks of the American Expeditionary Force

Apparently undeterred by Prohibitionist sentiment, American soldiers enjoy a drink at a bar near their base

THE AMERICAN Y.M.

Setting a good example, American officers enjoy a conversation while partaking of non-alcoholic beverages at a YMCA facility

TURKISH TROPHIES
AMERICA'S GREATEST CIGARETTE
10¢
DAWSONS
DANCING DOLLS
2 NET HAULS DAILY
HIPPODROME
8 FEATURE ACTS
CONVENTION ANTI SALOON LEAGUE OF AMERICA July 6 to 9
PHOTOGRAPHS
CIGARS
Tenth Convention Anti-Saloon
at Atlantic City, N.J. July

A gathering of the Anti-Saloon League is documented as participants pose for a group photograph at the end of their proceedings

FRALINGER'S
-9.1915.

THE ROCKY ROAD TO PROHIBITION

THE RATIFICATION OF THE 18TH AMENDMENT WAS THE RESULT OF MORE THAN A CENTURY OF CAMPAIGNING AGAINST ALCOHOL BY PROHIBITION ADVOCATES

The Reverend Billy Sunday stood before a packed house and railed, "I am the sworn, eternal and uncompromising enemy of the liquor traffic. I have been, and will go on, fighting that damnable, dirty, rotten business with all the power at my command."

The charismatic preacher was one of the best known in a long line of religious leaders who ardently campaigned for the prohibition of alcohol in the United States. One of his most famous sermons was titled, 'Booze, or, Get on the Water Wagon', and he told crowds, "...Whiskey and beer are all right in their place, but their place is in Hell." For Sunday and others, there was no compromise. The demon liquor deserved a death sentence, and their relentless attack on the production, sale and consumption of alcohol finally led to the ratification of the 18th Amendment to the US Constitution after more than 150 years of spreading the word against the terrible vice.

Religion, however, was not the only compelling force that brought the crusade against alcohol to the forefront of the American political scene during the 19th and early 20th centuries. Social reformers consistently pointed to the harmful effects of drunkenness. Alcoholism, they said, was destroying the family. It led to ill health and fatal disease, violence, physical abuse and broken homes. It weighed on the nation's economy as hard-working taxpayers were required to fund the construction of jails and the care and upkeep of prisoners who were incarcerated due to crimes they had committed while under the influence of liquor. Industrialists supported Prohibition because they perceived a loss of productivity among workers who spent their wages on liquor and failed to show up for work on Monday morning after a hard weekend of binge drinking. Further, the movement for women's suffrage and other activists found common ground with the Prohibition movement.

True enough, Americans were fond of the drink. European settlers had brought alcohol with them, and their traditions of beer and wine, of whiskey and hard liquor, were continued. The consumption of alcohol of some variety was a common experience of everyday life. In 1790, the typical adult drank about 5.8 gallons of alcohol per year. By 1810, that average had risen to 7.1 gallons. In 1830, Americans over 15 years of age were believed to be drinking 90 bottles of 80 per cent proof liquor, or about four shots of alcohol, per day. A normal workday included the ringing of a bell at 11am and again at 4pm to signal 'grog time' as workers set their toil aside and enjoyed a stiff drink. Barrels of hard cider or beer were often among a home's furnishings, for members of the family and visitors to drink whenever they wished. And alcohol consumption knew no social or economic barriers; the wealthy were just as enthusiastic in their enjoyment as subsistence farmers.

KANSAS WAS THE FIRST STATE TO OUTLAW ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES IN ITS CONSTITUTION, ADOPTING THE LAW IN 1881

The temperance movement, which ran the gamut from moderation in drinking to full prohibition, used stark statistics to bolster its case against alcohol.

The New York State Temperance Society published an informational pamphlet in the mid-1830s that unequivocally asserted, "Mr Samuel Chipman, of Rochester, visited personally, every JAIL and POOR-HOUSE in the state of New York, and obtained from the officers, under their own signatures (with one or two exceptions), precise statements of the number of persons who had occupied them during the year 1833, with their habits, and from the county clerks the expenses attending the same."

The publication went on to say, "It shows conclusively, that in this land of FREEDOM and of SCHOOLS, there would be almost NO CRIME, NO PAUPERISM, AND NO TAXES, but for the DISTILLER and the RUM Seller." At the time of Chipman's visits, there were 24,169 individuals imprisoned or in poor houses in New York. Of these, 18,312 were identified with their current condition having been caused by liquor. Taxes collected in New York's counties to handle the associated expense totalled more than $875,000. The pamphlet concluded that an estimated 143,709 people were in some adverse state due to alcohol abuse across the US and that more than 300,000 Americans were 'drunkards'.

From 1870 to 1900, it is believed that the number of saloons or drinking establishments across the country increased from 100,000 to 300,000, fuelled by a wave

Evangelist Billy Sunday preached enthusiastically against the evils of alcohol and helped bring Prohibition to reality

BY 1916, SOME TYPE OF LAW REGULATING ALCOHOL SALES AND CONSUMPTION WAS IN EFFECT IN 23 OF THE STATES

A resident of Detroit, Michigan, manufactures illegal gin in his home in 1920 as Prohibition takes effect in the United States of European immigration to the United States. These saloons were exclusively for men, and their connection to the social ills that plagued the country were undeniable, according to those that chose to confront the issue of alcohol abuse. During the decades that followed, the voice of the temperance movement grew even louder, a clarion call to action.

The anti-alcohol movement in America may trace its religious roots to the Second Great Awakening, a wave of religious fervour that was driven by Protestant evangelical ministers and swept across the mountains and prairies during the westward settlement and expansion of the United States during the mid-19th century. The social conscience of many Americans was stirred to action in social reform that focused on the abolition of slavery and temperance, among other issues. Preachers such as Charles Grandison Finney and Lyman Beecher admonished those gathered at camp meetings to refrain from alcohol, and their sermons were printed and distributed in cities across the country. The American Temperance Society was formed in 1826, and its membership steadily increased to more than 1.2 million within 12 years. Then, after the Civil War, the end of slavery brought even greater focus on temperance.

On Christmas Eve in 1873, Eliza Thompson organised a group of women in Hillsboro, Ohio, and they visited each of the town's 13 saloons, kneeling in the snow, praying, and singing hymns with the idea of shutting the doors of the drinking establishments. Within nine days, they had accomplished their goal, and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) was born amid an effort to eliminate the consumption of alcohol rather than simply curtail it. At the same time, the temperance movement became a component of the political agenda of the Progressive Era, a period in American history when citizens became keenly aware of issues that were caused not only by alcohol, but also by rapid industrialisation, the urbanisation of major cities, the growing gap between the wealthy and those who lived in grinding poverty, and other aspects of life in the young country. Under dynamic leaders Sarah 'Annie' Turner Wittenmyer and Frances Willard, the WCTU became a force in American politics with a membership that exceeded a million people. Anti-alcohol programs were introduced in public schools, and the realisation that women could be more effective politically with the right to vote brought members of the suffragette movement into the ranks of the WCTU.

PRIOR TO THE ELECTIONS OF 1916, THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE SPENT THE EQUIVALENT OF $50 MILLION IN 2010 TO ELECT FAVOURABLE POLITICIANS

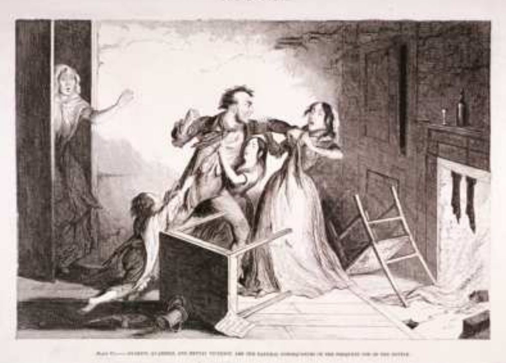
By the late 19th century, alcoholism was common across America as incidents of domestic violence, criminal activity, and health problems related to overconsumption increased at alarming rates. Alcohol related deaths In New York City between 1900 and 1909 averaged 526 annually. During the decade prior to Prohibition, death rates from alcoholism and cirrhosis of the liver reached their peak in the United States. With

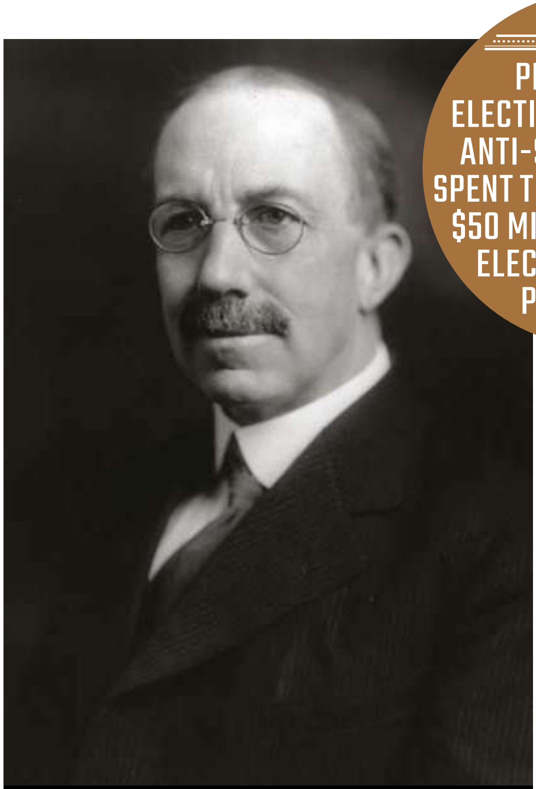
ALCOHOLISM ENGENDERS DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

THE HORROR OF DOMESTIC ABUSE LED MANY ADVOCATES, PARTICULARLY WOMEN, TO ENDORSE PROHIBITION TO PROTECT THEIR FAMILIES

In 1847, a classic anti-alcohol pamphlet titled *Temperance Manual* was published by author Justin Edwards, shedding stark light on the problem of alcohol-related domestic abuse. In rather melodramatic fashion, it read, "A father took a little child by his legs and dashed his head against the house, and then, with a bootjack, beat out his brains. Once that man was a respectable merchant, in good standing, but he drank alcohol…" The temperance movement took to the stage as well during the period, including productions of *The Drunkard*, *The Fallen Saved*, *One Cup More* and *The Doom of the Drunkard*, depicting husbands who had lost control due to the influence of liquor and put their families through untold suffering with economic privation and physical assaults.

The problem of domestic violence was a central theme of the Prohibition movement from the beginning. Temperance advocates believed that attacking the problem of family violence at its source might bring some relief to the loathsome existence of women and children caught up in the cycle of abuse that stemmed from the over-consumption of alcohol by fathers. They closed saloons and drinking establishments through protest, both peacefully and with hatchets in hand to destroy stocks of liquor and beer. While the coming of Prohibition may have brought a decrease in family violence early on, it remains highly likely that such situations returned to levels similar to those of earlier days as alcohol became more available despite the existence of laws against its sale and consumption.


In this image titled 'The Bottle,' a husband and father loses control at home after a night of drinking liquor


Wayne Wheeler, leader of the Anti-Saloon League, was largely responsible for bringing about Prohibition through political wrangling

the roots of the temperance movement and the drive towards Prohibition deeply rooted in the evangelical Protestant churches, the effort evolved from one of abstinence and curtailment to eradication of alcohol consumption in America.

As pervasive as the temperance movement had become across the US by the late 19th century, it certainly would not have reached the level required to push for a Constitutional amendment and the coming of Prohibition without the single-minded effort of Wayne B Wheeler, a leader of the militant Anti-Saloon League (ASL), founded in Oberlin, Ohio, in 1893 by former attorney Howard Hyde Russell, who had responded to a higher call and turned his attention towards the elimination of alcohol consumption. At the age of 24, Wheeler attended one of Russell's anti-alcohol sermons at a Congregational church in Oberlin, and his life was abruptly changed. Recently graduated from Oberlin College, having worked as a janitor, salesman and teacher to pay his educational expenses, Wheeler approached Russell, prayed with him, and became an early employee of the ASL.

SUSAN B ANTHONY SAID, "THE ONLY HOPE OF THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE'S SUCCESS LIES IN PUTTING THE BALLOT INTO THE HANDS OF WOMEN"

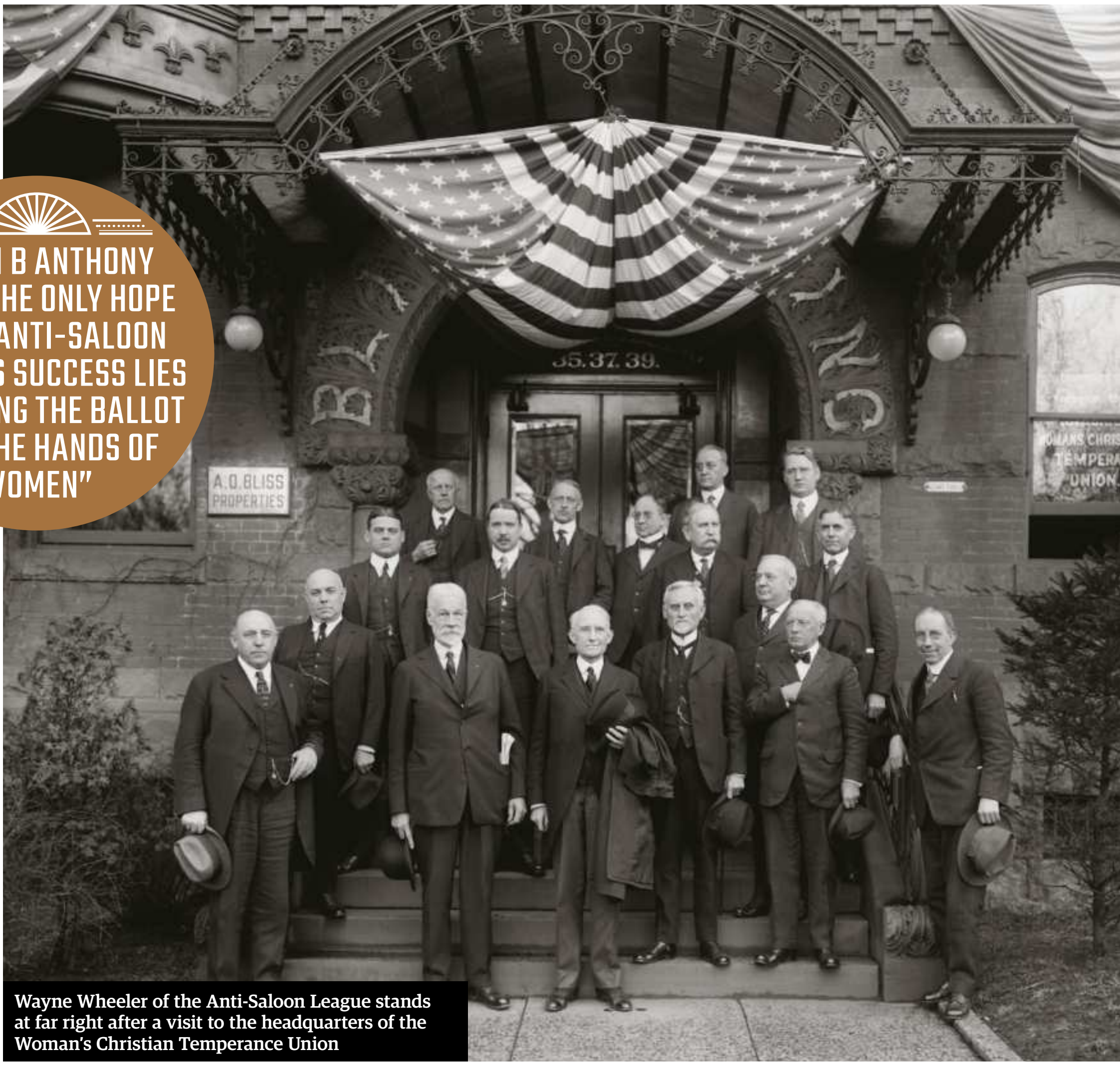
Through Wheeler's leadership the Prohibition movement managed some degree of unity. Until that time, it had been hampered by a lack of cohesion despite the fact that millions of people had signed abstinence pledges and joined one organisation or another in support of the effort. Willard had led the WCTU into advocacy of other issues beyond Prohibition, including women's suffrage and social reform, while the newly formed Prohibition Party, which still exists today, had dabbled in other government issues including the conservation of forests and the operation of the nation's postal service. In sharp contrast, the team of Russell and Wheeler focused on one goal only, abolishing the sale, manufacture, transport and consumption of alcoholic beverages in the United States.

Wheeler practically invented the doctrine of pressure politics and coined the phrase 'pressure group' as he targeted politicians and lawmakers on local, state and national levels to implement his agenda. Anti-alcohol legislation was nothing new. States and municipalities had enacted a number of such laws since the early 19th century. However, these varied in scope, severity of penalties, capabilities of enforcement and their legitimate ability to stand up in court if scrutinised. Therefore, Wheeler sought an unequivocal solution to the vulnerability of Prohibition-related legislation. At first the ASL advocated anti-alcohol laws eliminating the production and sale of liquor in every state, and then demanded an amendment to the US Constitution, which would make the eradication of alcohol for consumption the law of the land.

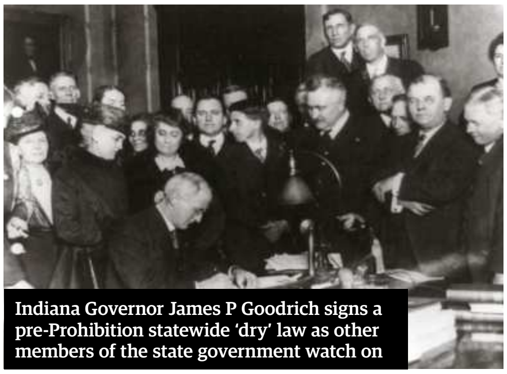
Wayne Wheeler, standing a diminutive 5'7" tall, was a titan of the Prohibition era. A thoroughly dedicated zealot, he tirelessly rode his bicycle from town to town across Ohio while working as a clerk in the office of a Cleveland attorney. He received a degree from Western Reserve Law School in 1898 and became the head of the state's ASL legal arm. He launched telegram campaigns that urged ordinary citizens to cable their representatives and vote for Prohibition measures. He delivered countless speeches and recruited hundreds to the ASL cause. He called his efforts 'petitions in boots' and was described by one of his college classmates as a 'locomotive in trousers'.

Wheeler's methods were so successful that candidates for political office that garnered the

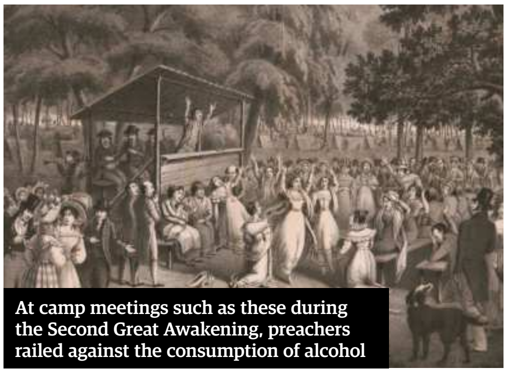
"THE ASL ADVOCATED LAWS ELIMINATING THE PRODUCTION AND SALE OF LIQUOR IN EVERY STATE, THEN DEMANDED AN AMENDMENT TO THE US CONSTITUTION"



Wayne Wheeler of the Anti-Saloon League stands at far right after a visit to the headquarters of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union



Indiana Governor James P Goodrich signs a pre-Prohibition statewide 'dry' law as other members of the state government watch on



At camp meetings such as these during the Second Great Awakening, preachers railed against the consumption of alcohol

ASL's support were soon in control of the Ohio state legislature. In a single election, Wheeler's political machine opposed 70 incumbent legislators and was instrumental in defeating every single one in their bid for re-election. When Governor Myron T Herrick, a Republican, signed a modified bill allowing local governments to decide whether their jurisdictions were 'wet' or 'dry' rather than the hardline original version, Wheeler went after him and brought the powerful politician down.

In the wake of the Anti-Saloon League triumph, Wheeler boasted, "Never again will any political party ignore the protests of the church and the moral forces of the state." Wheeler took his pressure tactics nationwide and in 1913 influenced the passage of a graduated personal income tax that would hopefully take the place of government tax revenue generated from the liquor industry. The ASL issued a statement that acknowledged, "The chief cry against national Prohibition has been that the government must have the revenue." That issue was eliminated, and the primary focus of the ASL became "National Prohibition… secured through the adoption of a Constitutional Amendment… The Next and Final Step."

Wayne Wheeler then became the nation's foremost apostle of Prohibition, travelling from Ohio to ASL headquarters in Washington, DC. He boldly stated, "We'll vote against all the men in office who won't support our bills. We'll vote for candidates who will promise to. We are teaching these crooks that breaking their promises to us is surer of punishment than going back on their bosses, and some day they will learn that all over the United States – and we'll have national Prohibition."

NEBRASKA WAS THE 36TH STATE TO RATIFY THE 18TH AMENDMENT. ITS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES VOTED 96 TO 0 IN FAVOUR

Rapidly, Wheeler had become one of the most powerful political forces in America, and his constituency, although in the minority, could provide the necessary swing vote to ensure a candidate's election or political demise. The *New York Evening World* newspaper commented that Wheeler was "…the legislative bully before whom the Senate of the United States sits up and begs." Meanwhile, the alliances formed with the suffragette movement and its leaders such as Susan B Anthony expanded to include pro-income tax elements, social reformers, labour unions, and even the racist Ku Klux Klan in the South that sought to quash the voting rights of African Americans and take away their access to alcohol.

Inexorably, the move toward Prohibition crept forward. In 1914, a Prohibition amendment failed in Congress, but the vote was astonishingly close, 197 to 190. The elections of 1916 proved the turning point. Woodrow Wilson was re-elected as president, 'dry' majorities were elected in both houses of Congress, and within weeks Texas Senator Morris Sheppard introduced a resolution that became the foundation of the 18th Amendment. It passed both houses in late 1917. Fortuitously for the ASL's aims, the United States had entered World War I. The organisation leveraged the exigencies of the conflict to its advantage just as well as it leveraged issues of religion, domestic violence and race.

In early 1919, just 13 months after the resolution for a Constitutional amendment favouring Prohibition had breezed through Congress, 36 states had ratified the 18th Amendment. The long journey to Prohibition had ended, but a new road fraught with upheaval that had largely been unforeseen, loomed ahead.

PROHIBITION BY THE NUMBERS

PROHIBITION DID EXERT A POSITIVE INFLUENCE ON CURING SOME SOCIAL ILLS, AT LEAST IN THE BEGINNING

Prohibition existed for only 13 years, and it ended largely by popular demand. The success or failure of the experiment continues to be debated. However, a few statistics point at least to a partial victory in effecting change. For example, arrests for public drunkenness and disorderly conduct declined by 50 per cent between 1916 and 1922, while the overall consumption of alcoholic beverages is thought to have decreased from 30 to 50 per cent during the same period. Deaths from cirrhosis of the liver, a common affliction brought on by alcoholism, declined from 29.5 per 100,000 people in 1911 to 10.7 in 1929, while admission to state-run mental hospitals related to alcohol-induced psychological conditions decreased from 10.1 per 100,000 in 1919 to 4.7 in 1928. Rates of violent crime appear to have held steady during Prohibition, and these include homicides – despite the fact that numerous high-profile murders such as the St Valentine's Day Massacre occurred. As the Prohibition era progressed, alcohol became more readily available through illegal smuggling, illicit domestic production, and distribution through clandestine channels such as the speakeasy or the back-alley peddler, creating new challenges to the hard-won gains of the movement that had brought it into effect.

Government officials view bodies of victims of the St Valentine's Day Massacre. Overall, homicide rates did not increase during Prohibition

Suffragette leader Susan B Anthony closed ranks with the Prohibition movement prior to the ratification of the 18th Amendment

© Alamy; Getty

AMERICA GOES DRY

44 **GOOD TO THE LAST DROP**
The enactment of the 18th Amendment began an era of fundamental change in the US

50 **THE THIN BREW LINE**
Short-staffed and plagued by corruption, Prohibition agents struggled to enforce the 18th Amendment

56 **THE SPEAKEASY PHENOMENON**
Discover the birth of speakeasies, where illegal alcohol flowed freely during Prohibition

62 **BOOTLEGGING AND PROHIBITION**
The illegal alcohol trade prospered on land and sea as bootleggers raised smuggling to new heights of success during Prohibition

68 **THE PARTY GOES ON**
Uncover the fascinating story of Harlem's legendary Cotton Club

72 **THE REAL BOARDWALK EMPIRE**
Discover the truth behind Prohibition-era Atlantic City and Enoch 'Nucky' Johnson

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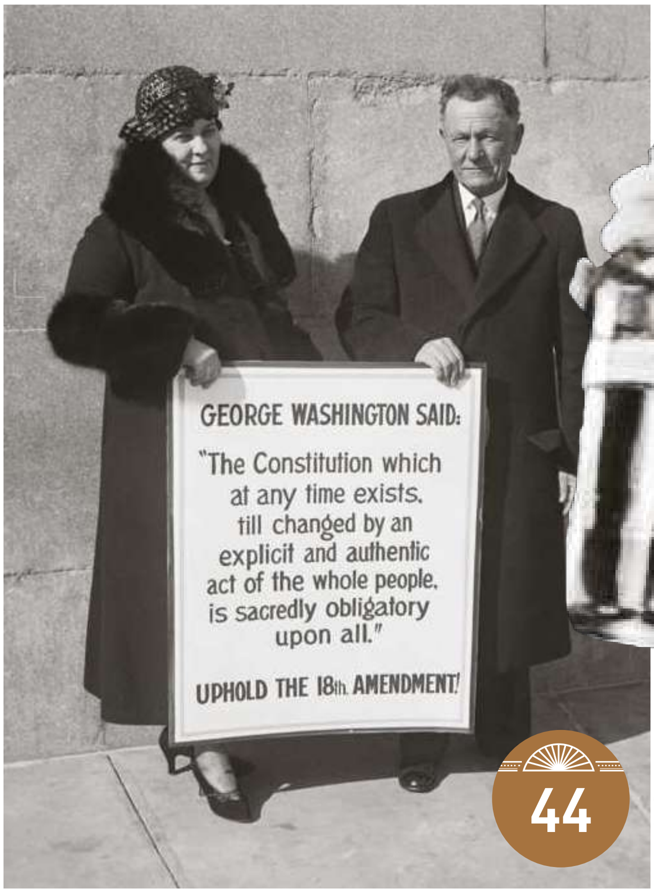
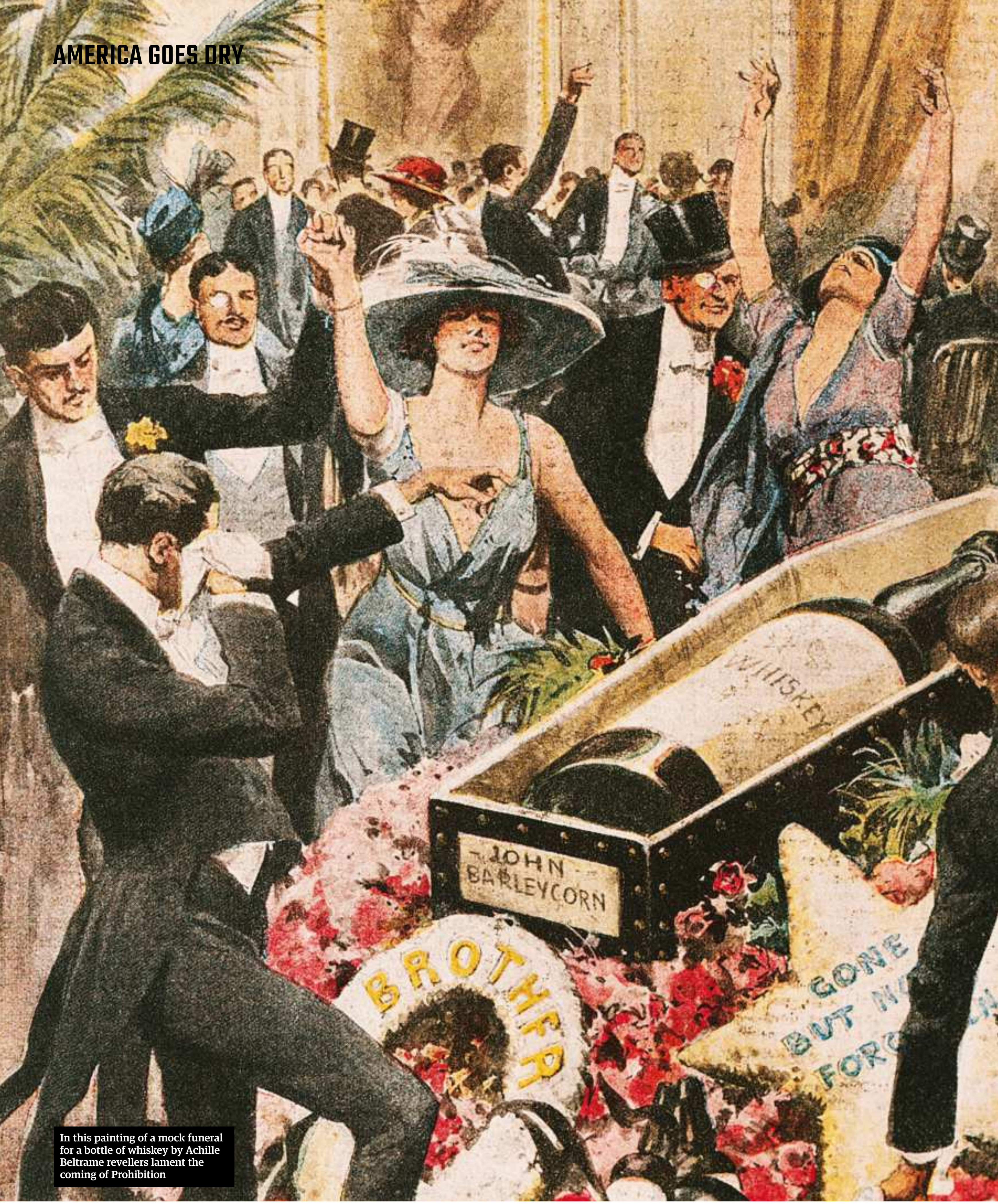

GEORGE WASHINGTON SAID:
"The Constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all."
UPHOLD THE 18th AMENDMENT!

44

62

GIN
PEACH BRANDY
PORT WINE


WHISKEY
JOHN BARLEYCORN
BROTHER
GONE BUT N
FORG

In this painting of a mock funeral for a bottle of whiskey by Achille Beltrame revellers lament the coming of Prohibition

GOOD TO THE LAST DROP

AFTER YEARS OF DEBATE, THE ENACTMENT OF THE 18TH AMENDMENT, MAKING PROHIBITION THE LAW OF THE LAND, BEGAN AN ERA OF FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE

Although it had come with plenty of warning, there was nevertheless an outcry in the land. For some, the act of drinking alcohol was a part of living, a perfectly acceptable social activity. For others, it was a simple pleasure – even one of those inalienable rights that had been referred to by the Founding Fathers in the Declaration of Independence. At 12.01am on 17 January 1920, that fundamental freedom was sharply curtailed, and in many circumstances outlawed.

The Prohibition era arrived after decades of political, moral and social wrangling, and the last 'wet' days in America were swiftly accomplished once the momentum of the lobby that advocated the end of legal sales, distribution and transportation of 'intoxicating liquors' had become virtually irresistible. On 19 August 1917, the US Senate voted 65 to 20 to approve the proposed 18th Amendment to the US Constitution. The House of Representatives followed suit in December with a vote of 282 to 128. A vote of three-fourths of the states was necessary to make the amendment the law of the land, and Mississippi started the process on 18 January 1918. A year later, Nebraska became the 36th of 48 states to ratify the 18th Amendment, and the subsequent effective date was set.

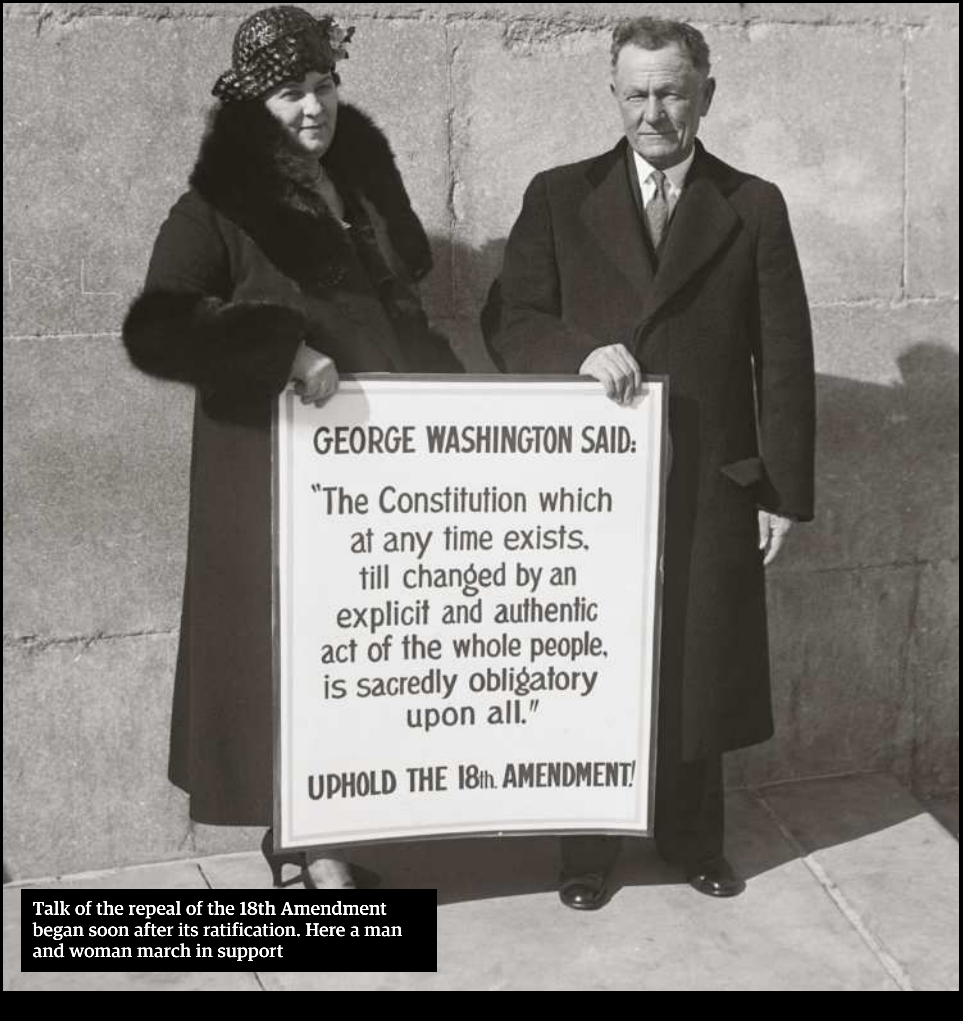
AMENDMENT VERSUS LAW

PROHIBITION BECAME US LAW THROUGH A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT RATHER THAN SIMPLE PASSAGE OF LAW, MAINLY DUE TO A PERCEPTION OF PERMANENCE

The passage of the 18th Amendment to the US Constitution made Prohibition the law in the United States. Since the amendment was ratified by the states after passage through Congress in 1919, questions have lingered as to why it was necessary to amend the Constitution rather than applying the standard process of passing laws.

The primary reason has to do with the interpretation of the Constitution itself. The document contains a list of 'enumerated powers' that are specifically within the purview of the federal government. In other words, if a certain piece of legislation were to become federal law, the narrow interpretation of the Constitution required the subject legislation to relate directly back to those enumerated powers. During the decades following the ratification of the Constitution in 1787, it was not uncommon for the US Supreme Court to strike down laws or presidential actions on that basis.

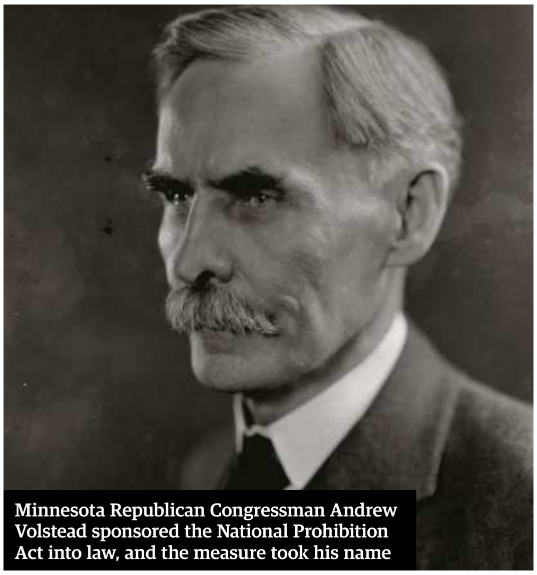
In the case of Prohibition, the Supreme Court had not yet broadened its interpretation of the 'commerce clause' contained in Article 1, Section 8, of the Constitution. Although the regulation of 'interstate commerce' is one of the enumerated powers, disputes on the limitations of these powers often happened. Therefore, those who favoured Prohibition sought a Constitutional amendment to solidify their victory rather than the simple passage of a law that the Supreme Court might strike down. While there were existing Prohibition-related laws on the books in many states and cities, a Constitutional amendment was mistakenly believed to be more permanent. The 18th Amendment was in effect for 13 years until its repeal.


GEORGE WASHINGTON SAID:
"The Constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all."
UPHOLD THE 18th. AMENDMENT!

Talk of the repeal of the 18th Amendment began soon after its ratification. Here a man and woman march in support

On 28 October 1919, despite the veto of President Woodrow Wilson, Congress passed the National Prohibition Act, providing the authorisations of law necessary to enforce the 18th Amendment. Wilson had exercised his veto power due to the inclusion of language related to restrictions on alcohol already enacted because of US involvement in World War I; however, the veto was overridden by the House of Representatives on the same day, and by the Senate the next day.

Minnesota Republican Congressional Representative Andrew Volstead, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, sponsored the measure in Congress, and it went on to be commonly known as the Volstead Act. The legislation was actually authored by Wayne B Wheeler, the militant leader of the Anti-Saloon League, whose aggressive methods of advancing the cause of Prohibition actually culminated with the successful passage of the 18th Amendment. Wheeler resorted to coercive measures to gain the support of lawmakers on state and federal levels and actually became one of the most powerful men in America during the period. Wheeler had gained such sway that his endorsement could mean the difference between winning and losing an election. As the Anti-Saloon League's chief lobbyist in the halls of Congress, he was also able to put together a coalition that included factions as diverse as promoters of women's suffrage and elements of the Ku Klux



Minnesota Republican Congressman Andrew Volstead sponsored the National Prohibition Act into law, and the measure took his name

A government agent inspects the contents of a glass containing moonshine from a still recently confiscated during a Prohibition raid

IN A SINGLE YEAR, 90,000 RESIDENTS OF THE STATE OF NEVADA WERE SUPPLIED WITH 10,000 PRESCRIPTIONS FOR MEDICINAL ALCOHOL

Klan. He utilised the calamity of World War I to further his agenda, while also advocating the approval of a graduated personal income tax to replace the revenue that would be lost to the federal government when Prohibition went into effect. The Volstead Act enabled the intent of the 18th Amendment to be carried out. The amendment itself did not provide specific punishments for violators or define the term 'intoxicating liquor', leaving the states themselves, along with the federal government, with the power to enforce the measure with appropriate legislation. Therefore, the Volstead Act established the penalties for violations of the Prohibition amendment and defined exactly what constituted an 'intoxicating liquor'. It specified that penalties for those convicted of alcohol-related violations could include fines of $1,000 or more along with lengthy prison terms. It also pronounced that an intoxicating liquor was any beverage containing more than 0.5 per cent alcohol by volume.

The Act included three basic provisions: first, to prohibit intoxicating beverages; second, to regulate the manufacture, sale or transport of intoxicating liquor; and third, to ensure an ample supply of alcohol and promote its use in scientific research and in the development of fuel, dye and other lawful industries and practices, such as religious rituals. The Volstead Act did not outlaw the consumption of alcohol. Along with the exemption for religious ritual use, it also allowed physicians to prescribe and pharmacists to dispense alcohol for medicinal purposes and for households to preserve fruit through fermentation.

> "IT SPECIFIED THAT PENALTIES FOR THOSE CONVICTED OF ALCOHOL-RELATED VIOLATIONS COULD FACE FINES OF $1,000 OR MORE ALONG WITH LENGTHY PRISON TERMS"

A police officer stands watch over cases of illegal alcohol that are about to be stored in a government cellar

The Volstead Act placed federal enforcement responsibilities with the Internal Revenue Service, an arm of the Treasury Department, and its commissioner established the Prohibition Unit with federal funding for only 1,500 agents nationwide, roughly enough for 30 agents per state. At the same time, these agents were often political appointees or cronies who were not required to undergo any law enforcement training or pass a civil service examination. Aside from a few notable successes, the enforcement of Prohibition rapidly became an exercise in futility.

However, all that was in the future on 16 January 1920, as the clock ticked toward the end of life as Americans knew it. Horse-drawn wagons clattered down the streets of American cities that day, making the last deliveries of bottled beer and liquor before their distributors shut their doors or found some other way to stay in business. Heavy trucks rumbled along roads with the last of the legally sold and transported alcohol meant for consumption. Around the country there were parties, glasses clinking the hours away. Mock funerals were carried out as 'mourners' followed small coffins containing bottles of liquor to resting places. Front porches, street corners and alleys were stacked high with crates and boxes, emptied of their soon-to-be forbidden contents.

The lament was loud. Secretary of the Interior Franklin K Lane moaned, "The whole world is skew-jee, awry, distorted and altogether perverse… Einstein has declared the law of gravitation outgrown and decadent. Drink, consoling friend of a Perturbed World, is shut off; and all goes merry as a dance in hell!" The *San Francisco Chronicle* newspaper reported that two weeks earlier the last New Year's Eve with alcohol had been celebrated with great revelry as celebrants brought out their best stock from a variety of secret locations, including "…cellars, club lockers, bank vaults, safety deposit boxes and other hiding places."

PROHIBITIONISTS USED THE GERMAN-AMERICAN ROOTS OF THE BREWING INDUSTRY AS PROPAGANDA DURING WORLD WAR I

For a while, prices were inflated, a good bottle of whiskey selling for as much as $20 or $30, but then as time grew short an enterprising New York City liquor store offered the last of its stock from a wicker basket on the sidewalk beneath a sign reading, "Every bottle, $1."

Years earlier, author Mark Twain had observed the movement towards Prohibition and declared, "Prohibition only drives drunkenness behind doors and into dark places, and does not cure it or even diminish it." In this case, Twain's view was visionary. In anticipation of Prohibition an 'underground' America was beginning to take shape even before the 18th Amendment took effect. Shipments of Canadian whiskey were hustled across the frontier into the United States, hidden in forests and caves only to emerge later as the wares of shadowy, clandestine black marketers and then sold in the illegal bars, known as speakeasies, that sprouted around the country like weeds that could never be eradicated by even the most diligent gardener.

Rather than ending the consumption and abuse of alcohol as its proponents had hoped, Prohibition drove drinking behind closed doors and technically made criminals of ordinary Americans. Bootleggers either smuggled the goods into the country, engineered makeshift distilleries in their basements and bathrooms or began operating illegal stills secluded from prying eyes. Further, Prohibition opened the Pandora's box of ills associated with organised crime.

While the speakeasies flourished, with an estimated 100,000 operating in New York City at any given time, gangsters carved up the big cities and even rural areas as territories purchased liquor illegally manufactured or smuggled into the country, and then supplied it to their good-time houses for sale to eager purchasers. While mobsters made millions with their newly found source of revenue, the inevitable violence – murder and mayhem – followed in the streets. Corruption was rampant as law enforcement officers and public officials received bribes to look the other way while the demand for alcohol was being satisfied. Chicago Police Chief Charles C Fitzmorris commented that 60 per cent of his police officers were actually engaged in bootlegging in some fashion, either taking hush money or actively participating in the transport and sale of illegal alcohol. Chicago crime boss Al Capone, who became famous as something of a Robin Hood figure, styled himself simply as a businessman who was supplying the public with a product that was in high demand.

Prohibition itself was less than an hour old before the first documented instance of a crime related to it occurred. At 12.59am on 17 January 1920, Chicago police reported that six men, each brandishing a weapon, had stolen two freight train cars full of whiskey intended for medical purposes. The heist, they said, had netted about $100,000 worth of the illegal beverage.

Members of organised crime and those willing to risk arrest, trial and imprisonment to make a buck also engaged in the clandestine manufacture of alcohol that was of dubious quality and sometimes dangerous for humans to consume. Millions of gallons of denatured industrial alcohol, intentionally mixed with toxic wood alcohol that according to government standards made it unsuitable for drinking, were nevertheless stolen, mixed with other substances or cut with water to diminish the unpleasant odour or disguise the poor taste, and then sold to unwitting consumers. If enough of the tainted 'rotgut' was ingested, it could cause blindness, neurological damage, and even death.

The *Literary Digest* reported in January 1920 that hundreds of people had been blinded after drinking the adulterated alcohol and that 57 people in the city of Hartford, Connecticut, had died.

The legal loopholes of the Volstead Act were exploited with vigour from the very beginning. Thousands of so-called 'ministers of the Gospel' applied for the necessary exemptions to conduct religious services that required wine or spirits. By the autumn of 1920, a cottage wine industry had sprung up across rural America as families took advantage of Section 29 of the Volstead Act, which stated, "The head of a family who has properly registered may make 200 gallons exclusively for family use without payment of tax thereon." Industrious families could legally generate nearly three bottles of wine per day, or close to 1,000 bottles per year, without incurring any tax liability. Of course, the fact that they were not allowed to sell the product legally failed to deter many from doing just that.

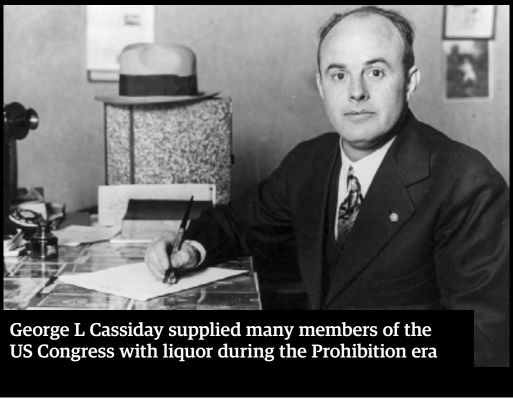
WITH MINUTES TO GO, THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE PROCLAIMED, "AT ONE MINUTE PAST MIDNIGHT… A NEW NATION WILL BE BORN"

"PROHIBITION ITSELF WAS LESS THAN AN HOUR OLD BEFORE THE FIRST DOCUMENTED INSTANCE OF A CRIME RELATED TO IT OCCURRED"

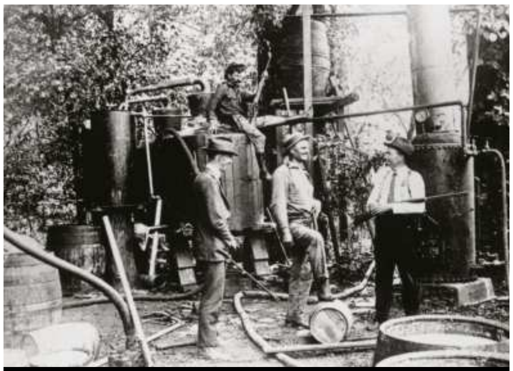
THE MAN IN THE GREEN HAT

GEORGE L CASSIDAY MADE HIS ROUNDS SUPPLYING THIRSTY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WITH ALCOHOL DURING PROHIBITION

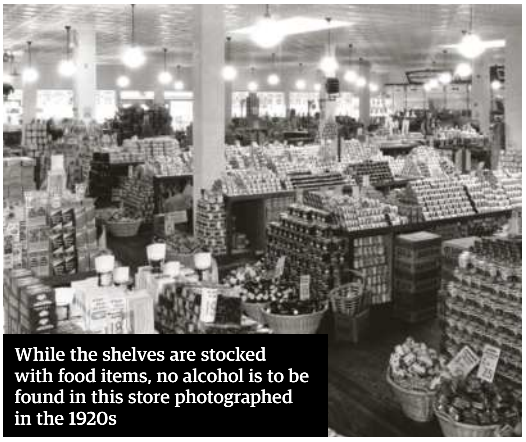
When he was arrested in 1930, George L Cassiday was in possession of six bottles of gin. The routine arrest of an individual bootlegger was not unusual, but Cassiday also carried a client list that included the names of dozens of US senators and representatives who were his regular customers during Prohibition. The arrest was actually made on Capitol Hill by a government agent watching Cassiday from the Senate stationery office and directed to put the 'Man in the Green Hat' under surveillance by none other than Vice President Charles Curtis. Prior to his arrest, Cassiday had made as many as 25 illegal sales per day in the House office building, and when he had been arrested there in 1925 while carrying six quarts of whiskey for delivery to a member of the House of Representatives, he was wearing a pale green hat – so the nickname stuck. After his arrest at the House building, Cassiday simply switched to the nearby Senate building and prospered for a while. He was tried and convicted of violating Prohibition statutes and sentenced to a year in jail, later asserting that during his bootlegging career he had supplied 80 per cent of the members of Congress with their alcoholic refreshments.



George L Cassiday supplied many members of the US Congress with liquor during the Prohibition era



Illegal beer brewers, one of them armed with a shotgun, stand beside their equipment hidden in a wooded area



While the shelves are stocked with food items, no alcohol is to be found in this store photographed in the 1920s

As the secretive sale of homemade wine exploded, consumption actually exceeded pre-Prohibition levels. Grape growers produced bricks or cakes of pressed and dehydrated fruit that they sold as primary ingredients for fruit juice; however, it was obvious that these compressed blocks were meant for the production of homemade wine. One fruit company added helpful directions to avoid running afoul of the law. Its label read, "After dissolving the brick in a gallon of water, do not place the liquid in a jug away in the cupboard for 20 days, because then it would turn to wine."

Physicians were allowed under Section 7 of the Volstead Act to prescribe alcohol for patients who were ill. A medical doctor who "in good faith believes that the use of such liquor as a medicine by such person is necessary and will afford relief to him from some known ailment," was free to pursue a proper course of treatment according to the law. However, the American Medical Association had already published its view in 1917 that alcohol had no scientific value in medicinal treatment and its use should be discouraged. Still, the ancient practice survived even the coming of Prohibition, and the hypocrisy of Prohibition was never more evident when the AMA came out two years later with an endorsement of alcohol as a viable medical treatment for more than a score of infirmities.

Doctors were required to apply for a permit from the US Treasury Department and typically did so in anticipation of treating patients for colds, influenza and various vague ailments that provided flimsy excuses to obtain whiskey from their local pharmacy. The enterprise proved quite profitable for physicians and pharmacists alike. The doctor could lawfully prescribe one pint of liquor for an individual patient every ten days. In exchange for his or her 'diagnosis', the patient paid the doctor $3. The pharmacist then charged the patient $3 for filling the prescription.

THE VOLSTEAD ACT, ENFORCING THE 18TH AMENDMENT, HAD 17 PAGES OF SINGLE-SPACED TYPE IN THE 1919 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

Despite the surge of illegal and questionable activity that surrounded it, Prohibition in its early days appeared to be working. Statistics revealed that overall alcohol consumption was cut in half in the 1920s and remained below pre-Prohibition levels for the next two decades. Rates of alcohol-related diseases, such as cirrhosis of the liver, fell by a full 50 per cent during the early Prohibition years but rose sharply following its repeal in 1933.

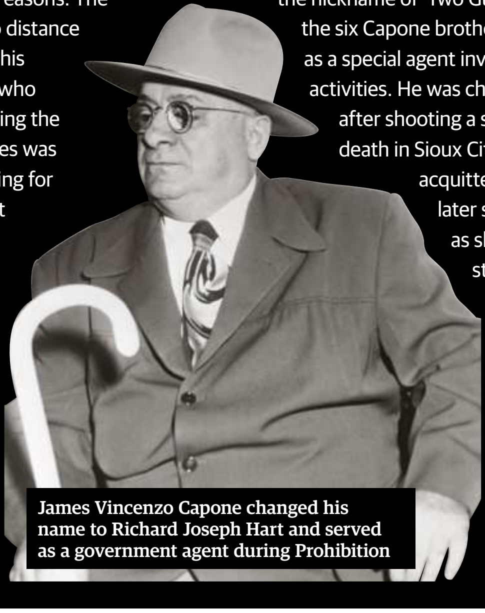
Ironically, it was the unintended consequences of Prohibition that eventually spelled the end for the noble experiment. The rise of organised crime and the violence and corruption that plagued American cities, the onset of the Great Depression that spawned the need for increased federal and state tax revenue, and the ever-present demand for beer and liquor among a thirsty population eventually led to an erosion of support for its continuation in succeeding years.

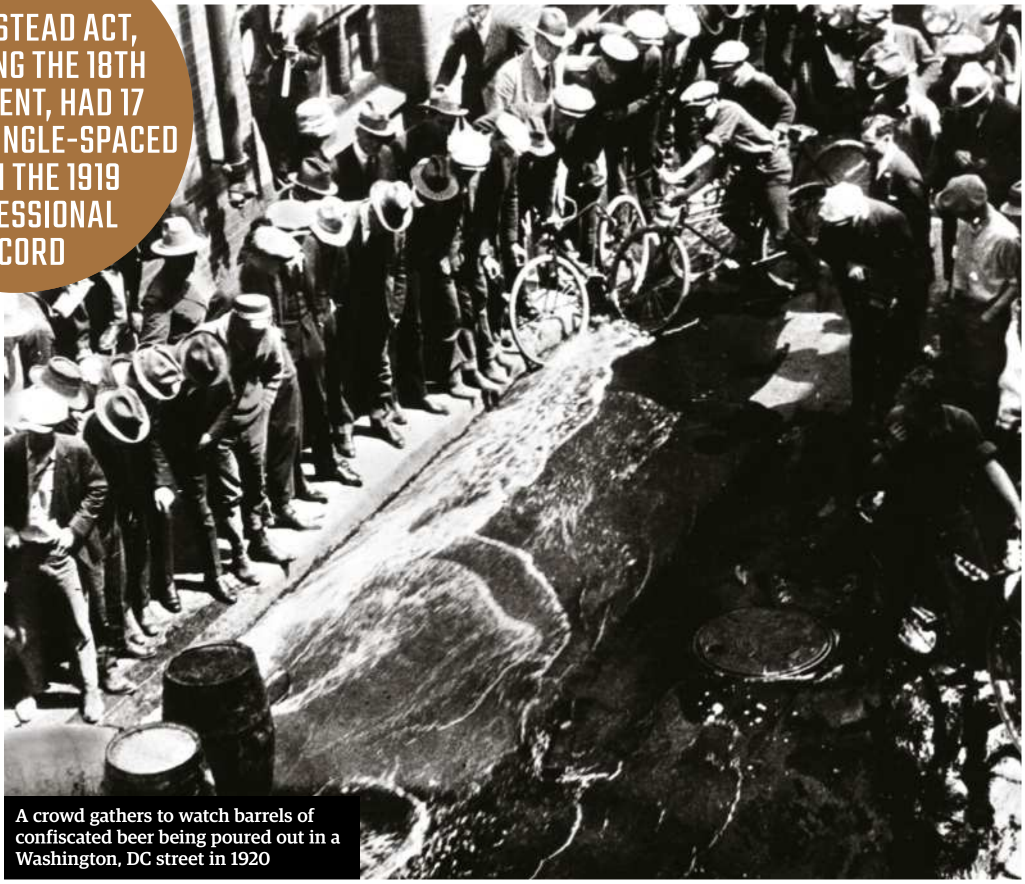
From the outset, though, Prohibition changed American culture and society, fuelling the Jazz Age and the emergence of women and minorities in social settings that were previously forbidden. When America went dry, the 1920s began to roar.

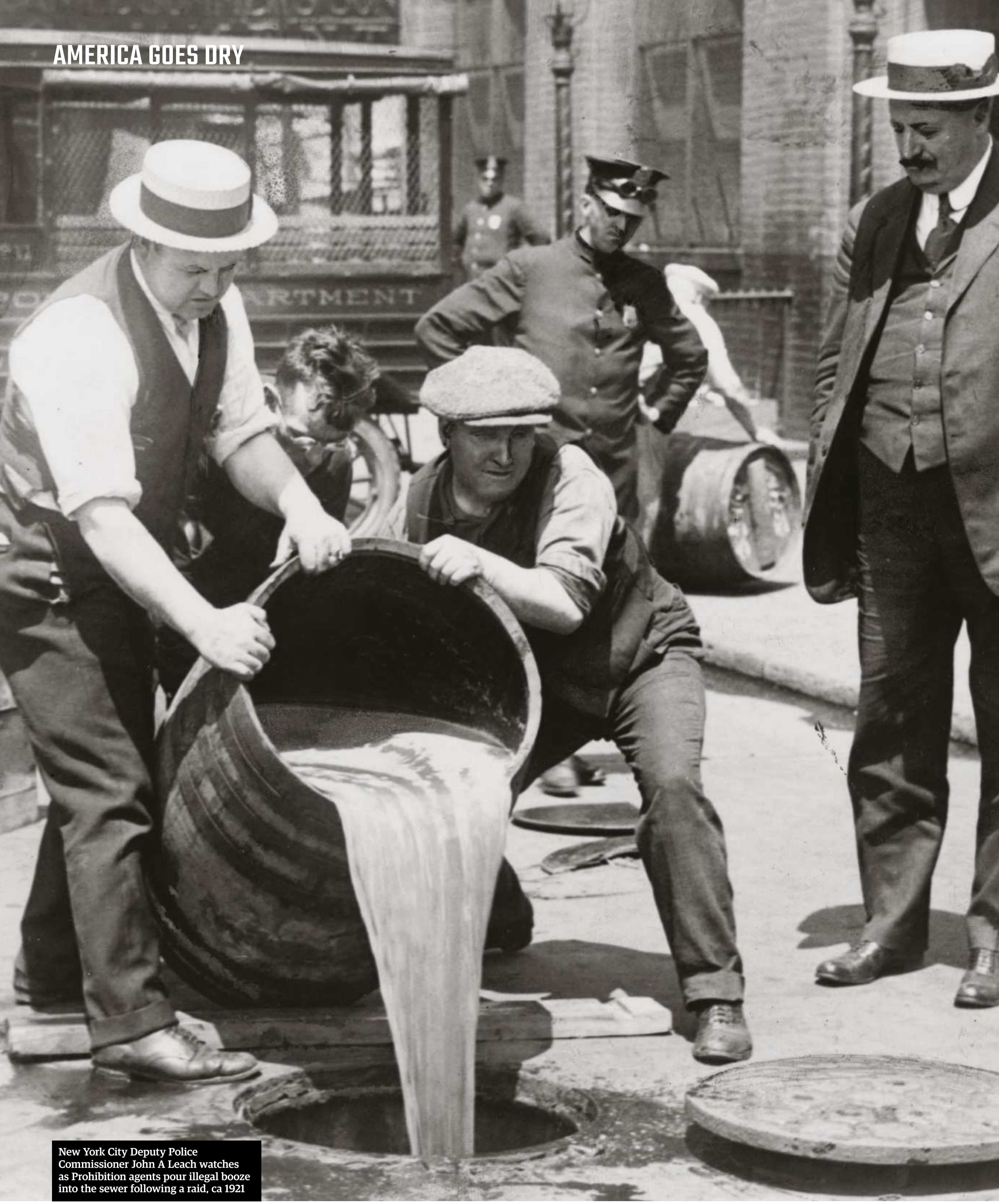
A CAPONE WITH THE FEDS

ONE CAPONE BROTHER ACTUALLY WORKED AS A FEDERAL AGENT IN THE MIDWEST WHILE ANOTHER MADE A FORTUNE IN ORGANISED CRIME

James Vincenzo Capone changed his name to Richard Joseph Hart for two reasons. The first is obvious. He wanted to distance himself from the activities of his younger brother, Al Capone, who was a notorious gangster during the Prohibition era, because James was actually a federal agent working for the Indian Affairs department in Nebraska and other Midwestern states. Second, he also enjoyed the movies of silent film cowboy actor William S Hart. Prior to taking advantage of the enactment of Prohibition to enter federal service, James was the sheriff of Homer, Nebraska, and enjoyed wearing Western frontier outfits and carrying a pair of revolvers that earned him the nickname of 'Two Gun' Hart. The oldest of the six Capone brothers, James then worked as a special agent investigating bootlegging activities. He was charged with manslaughter after shooting a suspected violator to death in Sioux City, Iowa, in 1922, but was acquitted of wrongdoing. While later serving another term as sheriff in Homer, he was stripped of his badge on suspicion that he had been involved in illegal activity. By 1940, he had reunited with his younger brother, Al, in Miami, Florida, and received some financial assistance from his infamous family members.


James Vincenzo Capone changed his name to Richard Joseph Hart and served as a government agent during Prohibition


A crowd gathers to watch barrels of confiscated beer being poured out in a Washington, DC street in 1920



New York City Deputy Police Commissioner John A Leach watches as Prohibition agents pour illegal booze into the sewer following a raid, ca 1921

THE THIN BREW LINE

SHORT-STAFFED AND PLAGUED BY CORRUPTION, PROHIBITION AGENTS STRUGGLED TO ENFORCE THE 18TH AMENDMENT

No sooner had it been passed, the Dry Law was broken. Within the first hour of Prohibition coming into force, Chicago police reported six armed men stole $100,000 worth of 'medicinal' whiskey from a freight train. At around the same time, another gang stole four barrels of grain alcohol from a government warehouse. A third hijacked a truck transporting liquor. This was just the beginning of a crime wave that would sweep the United States, with King Alcohol going underground, fostering a black market of bootleggers ruled by gun-toting gangsters. Prohibition agents were tasked with upholding the 18th Amendment. However, while they made early gains and were given tougher powers to tackle the growing criminal underworld, they were doomed to fail.

Given how violently Prohibition was eventually resisted, it's perhaps ironic that many advocates didn't think the Noble Experiment would need much enforcement. Some reluctance was to be expected at first, zealous teetotallers believed, but every American would experience the benefits of sober living. Eventually even recalcitrant drinkers would give up their wicked habit, so there would be no incentive for bootleggers to carry on peddling the 'demon drink'.

Despite this, Congress passed the National Prohibition Act in 1919, which filled in all the detail the 18th Amendment was missing. Better known as the Volstead Act, after its champion, Congressman Andrew J Volstead of Minnesota, the legislation was fiercely contested by dry members seeking a total ban and wets seeking concessions. The end result was imperfect, but it covered many key points.

First of all, the Volstead Act banned beverages with an alcoholic content above 0.5 per cent. The sale of equipment used to brew or distill was also outlawed. Recipes and formulas for making alcohol were also forbidden, creating a real quandary for public libraries. However, loopholes existed so that alcohol of a higher strength could be used for medicinal, religious or industrial reasons, but required a special permit. To further prevent anyone from being tempted to drink this higher-strength hooch, manufacturers were obliged to 'denature' it. That's to say, where possible, it was mixed with at least one noxious substance to effectively make it undrinkable.

Crucially though, neither the 18th Amendment nor Volstead Act actually banned the purchase or consumption of alcohol. If you were caught imbibing an intoxicating beverage you were not breaking the law. If you were found doing so in a speakeasy, you could still be charged with patronising an illegal business. But the emphasis for law enforcement was to catch those who distilled illegal-strength alcohol (known as 'moonshiners') smuggled it into the USA from abroad ('rum-runners'), and sold it ('bootleggers').

To catch these crooks, the Volstead Act called for the Inland Revenue Service (IRS), an agency within the Treasury Department, to spearhead enforcement. While it might sound odd for the taxman to be tackling bootleggers, even before booze was banned, the IRS employed revenue agents to track down moonshiners and others who evaded the liquor tax. In the early days of Prohibition, lawmakers considered the Volstead Act the logical extension of this.

Nonetheless, the IRS had to create a new division to manage enforcement of the alcohol ban. The Prohibition Unit was headquartered in Washington, DC, with fields offices across the country. The first Prohibition commissioner to run this national task force was John F Kramer. It's telling that while Kramer was an Ohio attorney and former state legislator, he had never worked in law enforcement. However, he was a prominent Evangelical Lutheran and Sunday school teacher. This was enough for the Anti-Saloon League, who enthusiastically endorsed his appointment to the post.

Kramer directed the work of nine assistant commissioners, each of whom presided over a district made up of two or more states. Within these districts, each state had a director with a staff to do the office work. The actual job of hitting the streets fell on federal Prohibition agents, most often referred to as 'Prohis' ('pro-hees'), 'dry spies' or 'revenue men'. These were assigned on the perceived need in each district, instructed to collect evidence of the Volstead law being broken, and arrest the individuals responsible.

The sheer scale of upholding the Dry Law nationwide was titanic: the Prohibition agents had to police the country's 19,300 kilometres (12,000 miles) of shoreline, as well as the Canadian and Mexican borders that reached close to 6,300 kilometres (3,900 miles). As well as catching criminals producing illegal liquor, agents had to monitor the 643.5 million litres (170 million gallons) of legal industrial alcohol, medicinal whiskey and sacred wine produced annually.

Despite this, the US government initially only provided funds for 1,500 agents. In early 1921, this worked out as fewer than 300 agents being assigned to New York, a state that was not only home to the country's largest city, but numerous wet towns, an international border and many busy ports. Even when Al Capone was declared Public Enemy No 1, with 1,000 hoodlums

ARRESTS FOR PUBLIC DRUNKENNESS AND DISORDERLY CONDUCT DECLINED 50 PER CENT BETWEEN 1916 AND 1922

"WE'D GET A WARRANT, GO IN AND ARREST THEM, CALL THE TRUCKS AND MOVE 'EM OUT. WE'D MOVE EVERYTHING BUT THE WALLPAPER"

LADY HOOCH HUNTER

DAISY SIMPSON SENT SHIVERS DOWN THE SPINES OF WINE COUNTRY VINTNERS

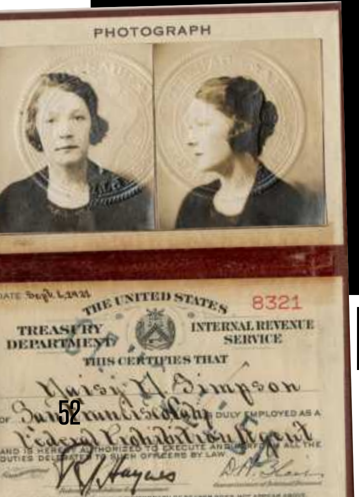
The Prohibition Unit only hired a handful of female agents, who were usually assigned to office work. However, Daisy Simpson joined the unit from San Francisco Police's moral squad, walking the beat in Frisco's red-light district, making her well suited to field work.

In fact, Simpson's gender gave her an advantage over her male colleagues. While it was considered inappropriate – and in some states illegal – for Prohis to search female bootleggers, who often hid liquor on their person, Simpson had no such problem.

Nicknamed 'Lady Hooch Hunter' by the press, Simpson went on to lead many high-profile stings. During a 20-day period in February 1925, she single-handedly made eight arrests, "confiscated 10,000 bottles of beer, 60 cases of gin, 12 cases of Scotch, and a large quantity of wines and other liquor," according to the *Sotoyome Scimitar* newspaper. With a remit that extended to northern California, she also led raids in Napa Valley and the surrounding Wine Country. One operation led to 8,400 gallons (38,187 litres) of pre-war vintage being poured down the drain at the well-known Frei Brothers' winery.

Like Izzy and Moe, Simpson was also known to use aliases and don disguises, dressing as everything and anything from a charwoman to a society matron in an effort to be served alcohol at restaurants, hotels and speakeasies. She would also feign illness, once pretending to faint outside a suspect establishment, then arresting the bar staff that tried to revive her with whiskey.

However, while Simpson often played enfeebled characters to disarm suspects, she was far from one herself. The agent always carried a gun and arrested multiple suspects while heavily outnumbered on more than one occasion.



PHOTOGRAPH

DATE Sept. 6, 1921
THE UNITED STATES
8321
TREASURY DEPARTMENT
INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE
THIS CERTIFIES THAT
Daisy A. Simpson
OF San Francisco, Calif. DULY EMPLOYED AS A
Federal Prohibition Agent
AND IS HEREBY AUTHORIZED TO EXECUTE AND PERFORM ALL THE DUTIES DELEGATED TO SUCH OFFICERS BY LAW
R J Hayes

Simpson's Prohibition Unit ID, issued on 6 September 1921

IZZY AND MOE

THIS DYNAMIC DUO'S PENCHANT FOR DISGUISES SAW THEM RACK UP ARRESTS – OFTEN CATCHING 20 TO 30 BOOTLEGGERS BEFORE BREAKFAST

Isadore 'Izzy' Einstein and Moe W Smith were two of the most successful Prohibition agents, arresting 4,953 people for selling alcohol, with a 95 per cent conviction rate, they confiscated up to five million gallons (19 million litres) of liquor, worth up to $15 million. However, to look at them you would never suspect they were G-men, which was the secret of their success.

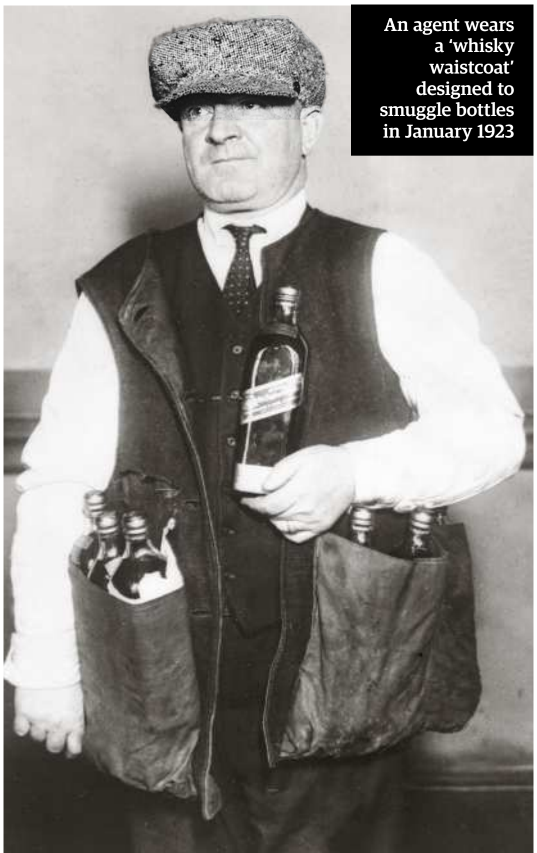
Short, overweight and middle-aged, their unprepossessing appearance would lead many to assume they weren't a threat. Einstein's easy charm also encouraged perps to take him into their confidence. In fact, on more than one occasion, he walked up to a speakeasy wearing his federal badge and asked, "Would you like to sell a pint of whiskey to a deserving prohibition agent?" The doorman would let them in, thinking it a great joke.

However, the pair weren't always so forthright. They also donned a number of disguises, driving a coal wagon through New York City's Upper East Side, selling fruit in the Bronx, and ice in Brooklyn to gain entry into illegal bars. They also posed as musicians, workmen, doctors – complete with long white coats – and even as women.

The outlandish agents soon attracted the press and happily posed for photos after busting bootleggers. But their burgeoning celebrity had a downside. Speakeasies began pinning up their pictures, warning staff not to serve them. While this did not perturb the pair – they just doubled down on their costumes – their superiors in Washington, DC, were not impressed. In November 1925, Izzy and Moe were let go. "The service must be dignified," a Prohibition enforcement official said by way of explanation. "Izzy and Moe belong on the vaudeville stage."

Einstein and Smith raid a still in 1924

A police department liquor squad poses with cases of confiscated alcohol and distilling equipment


An agent wears a 'whisky waistcoat' designed to smuggle bottles in January 1923

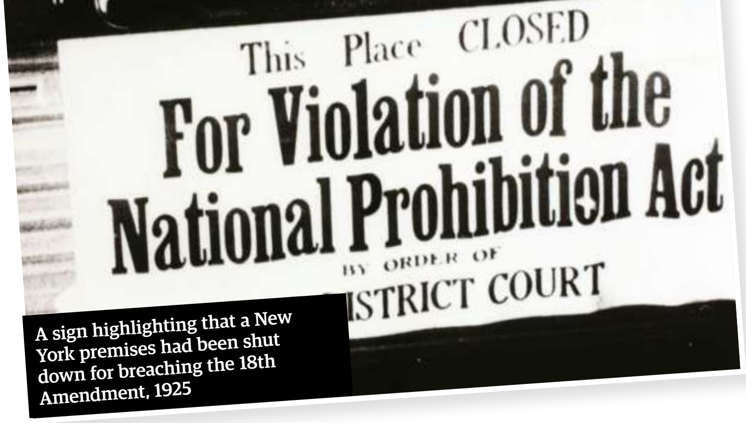
on his payroll, there were only 300 Prohibition agents in Chicago. But even sparsely populated districts could be a problem as agents had to cover vast geographic areas. In 1926, the Pacific Northwest district had only 50 agents to police more than 2.07 million square kilometres (800,000 square miles) in Oregon, Washington and the Alaska territory. The Seattle office only had one car, so agents – few of whom could afford their own vehicle – had to borrow one from friends, take a taxi or even hitch a ride.

Local police would provide backup for agents, but in general the 48 states were not prepared to shoulder the financial burden either. Available operating funds were equally inadequate – the federal government and states together spent less than $500,000 to enforce Prohibition in 1923.

In the early days of Prohibition, dry sleuths favoured carrying out high-profile raids. Agents seized warehouses full of whiskey, busted up stills, smashed countless bottles of liquor, took axes to beer barrels and dumped the contents into sewers. Reporters were also often invited along for the photo opportunity. The resulting media attention turned many agents into celebrities. While masters of disguise Izzy and Moe were the most famous, others also gained lurid nicknames in the yellow press: MT Gozaulles was 'The Lone Wolf of Texas', William R Hervey was 'the Kokomo Schoolmaster' and Samuel Kurtzman, working the Canadian border, was 'the Plague of the North'. Al 'Wallpaper' Wolff, one of Eliot Ness's Untouchables, earned his nickname from the thoroughness of his raids: "We'd get a warrant, go in and arrest them, call the trucks and move 'em out. We'd move everything but the wallpaper."

Thousands of stings like this were carried out across the country. However, while this free publicity helped project an image of power, raids were actually symptomatic of how understaffed the Prohibition Unit was. Unable to arrest all the bootleggers, Prohis had to choose their targets carefully. In general, agents mostly worked in the big cities and gave top priority to the urban bootleg gangs. Small towns were almost entirely ignored. If they were raided, bootleggers would resume their business as soon as the authorities left.

As it became clear that the Golden Age of Sobriety was not as close to dawning as optimists hoped, enforcement was stepped up. The budget of the Prohibition Unit increased fivefold between 1920 and 1930. Punishments for Volstead violators were beefed up. This began with 'padlocking', which was spearheaded by Emory Buckner, US Attorney for the Southern District of New York, in 1925-26. While many speakeasies simply restocked their bars and reopened after being raided, padlocking was a legal action that could be used to either temporarily or permanently close a business. What's more, padlocking actions could be issued for something as simple as causing a 'public nuisance', so Prohibition agents didn't have to go to great lengths to prove illicit alcohol was being produced or sold on site. With an air of raid-era spectacle, properties hit with the injunction would be physically padlocked shut. In 13 months, Buckner padlocked more than 500 speakeasies in the Big Apple. His crusade didn't have a huge impact;



A sign highlighting that a New York premises had been shut down for breaching the 18th Amendment, 1925

many bootleggers simply moved their operations to different premises. However, it did reduce the number of high-class speakeasies. With the threat of being shut down hanging over them, barkeepers focused on turning a quick profit rather than spending on glitzy decor to entice wealthy customers as they previously had.

In 1929, the Jones Act was passed. Nicknamed 'the five and ten', it allowed judges to issue fines up to $10,000 and/or prison sentences up to five years for breaching the Volstead Act. The stiffer punishment allowed law enforcement to put many bootleggers behind bars, as well as changed the liquor trafficker's cavalier attitude to arrests. While on the one hand, officials in Kansas, Missouri, reported that fear of the Jones Law closed 257 speakeasies in a month. Baltimore police reported 250 closed in their area. On the other, criminals that continued to flout the 18th Amendment began to take up arms to avoid capture.

The death toll of lawmen, gangsters and civilians caught in the crossfire escalated.

President Herbert Hoover, elected in 1928, while not an enthusiastic supporter of Prohibition, arguably provided more support for enforcement than either Warren G Harding or Calvin Coolidge had. The Hoover administration shook things up by taking a two-pronged approach. First, as violent crime grew worse, Prohibition agents were transferred to the Department of Justice under the new Bureau of Prohibition in 1930. However, the IRS continued to be involved in Prohibition enforcement, with Elmer Irey's Special Intelligence Unit to go after bootleggers for tax evasion and money laundering. These two departments worked in tandem to bring down Al Capone, in one of the most notable successes of Prohibition enforcement.

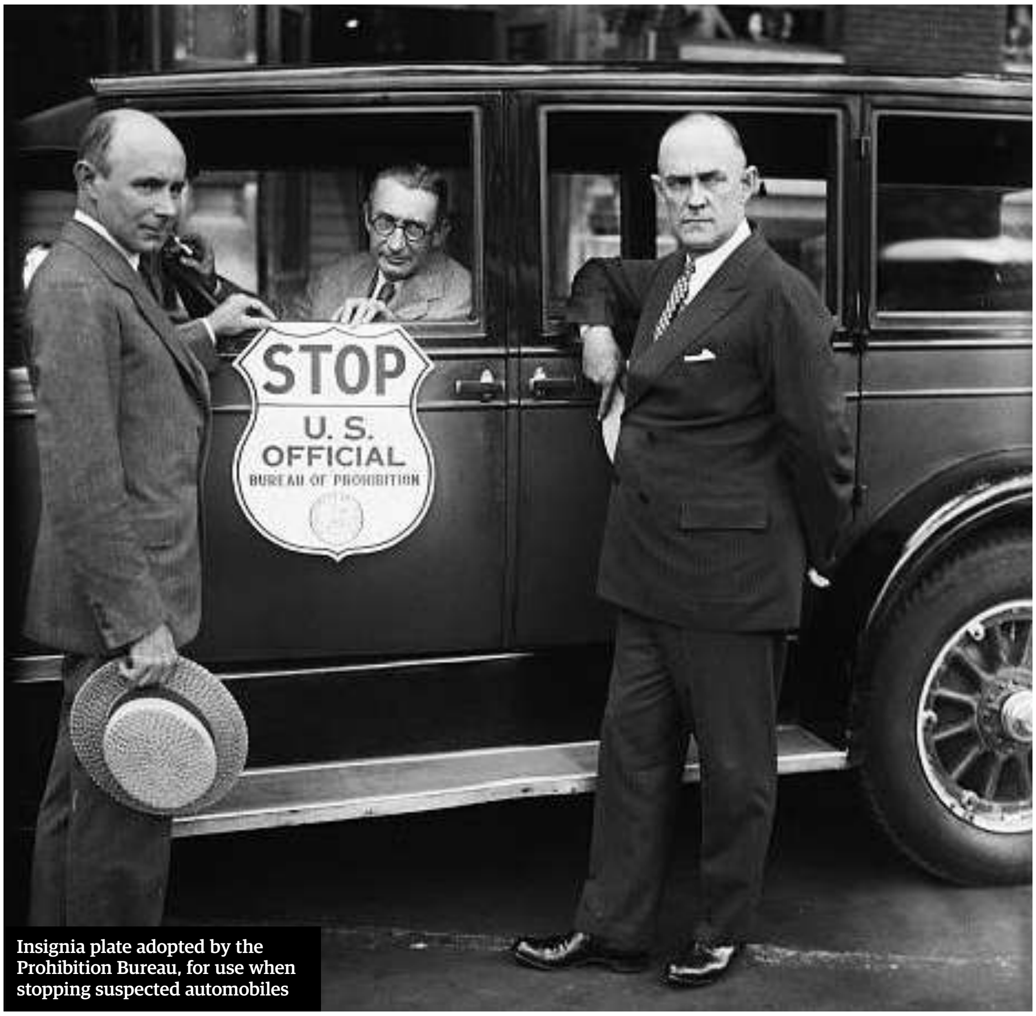
IN TOTAL, THE US GOVERNMENT SPENT OVER $300 BILLION ON PROHIBITION ENFORCEMENT

"WITH THE THREAT OF BEING SHUT DOWN HANGING OVER THEM, BARKEEPERS FOCUSED ON TURNING A QUICK PROFIT RATHER THAN SPENDING ON GLITZY DECOR"

However, the fact that Eliot Ness, who led the campaign against the mob boss, and his crack team of agents were nicknamed 'The Untouchables' speaks to a wider problem. By 1930, 1,587 out of 17,816 federal Prohibition employees had been fired for everything from lying on their applications to perjury, robbery, bribery, embezzlement and contempt of court. An investigation by the Chicago district attorney's office revealed "systematic graft on a very large scale" among Prohis in the Windy City. Corruption was rampant, ranging from taking a bribe to look the other way from the mob, to actively extorting money from bootleggers and speakeasy owners. They also sold government permits required to obtain industrial alcohol, medical whiskey as well as peddled the booze they confiscated.

Some have traced this corruption back to the lax rules for recruiting Prohibition agents. Possibly to fill the urgent need for dry spies quickly when the Prohibition

Revenue agents with drinks recovered from a raid on a Washington, DC, speakeasy in April 1923


Insignia plate adopted by the Prohibition Bureau, for use when stopping suspected automobiles

BY 1928, 50,000 AMERICANS HAD DIED FROM ALCOHOL POISONING SINCE PROHIBITION WAS DECLARED

Unit was set up, applicants were not required to take the usual civil service exams. Unfortunately, this left the door open for members of Congress and local politicians to appoint cronies, bestowing the job as payment for services rendered to them or their party. Naturally, this was not the best way to hire qualified lawmen. Not only did many Prohibition agents lack training or experience, a shocking number had prison records. Only two months after Volstead began, Agent Stewart McMullin shot and killed an unarmed bootlegger. In court, it was revealed McMullin had previously been convicted of involuntary manslaughter, forgery, and highway robbery, serving prison time in three different states. State Senator Jimmy Walker – later the mayor of New York City – had pulled strings to get McMullin the job.

Another reason for corruption was that Prohi wages were very low. While an upstanding dry agent made less than $50 a week, a dishonest one could afford luxuries most Americans only dreamed of. For instance, when a Californian woman filed for divorce from her estranged Prohibition agent husband, she demanded her fair share of his impressive assets. While officially the agent made only $35 per week, it was revealed he owned a townhouse, a country home, two cars, a speedboat, and had multiple bank accounts. Life as a Prohibition agent could be so lucrative, there were several instances of criminals impersonating Prohibition agents so they could enjoy the backhanders.

However, greed was not exclusive to the Bureau. The wealthy gangsters also bought local policemen, jurors and judges. Even the Attorney General of the United States was corrupt during Prohibition. Harry M Daugherty, who was in office from 1921-24, was plagued by allegations of corruption. These were given credence in 1930 when Gaston B Means, an ex-convict employed by the FBI, testified before a Senate investigative committee that Daugherty's personal assistant Jesse Smith had charged him with collecting protection money from bootleggers to ensure they were pursed.

As public resentment to Prohibition grew, dry agents were demonised as trigger-happy and corrupt in the press. But most Prohis were on the up and up. From 1920-30, they took about 577,000 suspects into custody, and prosecutors won convictions from almost two in three. Agents confiscated 1.6 million stills and other liquor-making devices, 40 million litres of hard liquor, 4.5 billion litres of malt liquor, an equal amount of wine, cider and mash, plus 45,000 cars and 1,300 boats. The value of the property federal dry spies seized was set at $40 million ($550 million in today's money), and state and local officials seized a similar amount.

THE RUM PATROL

A FLEET OF DESTROYERS WATCHED THE SHORE FOR SMUGGLERS ENTERING FROM BEYOND THE US BORDER

While many moonshiners were brewing their own at home, smuggling the 'demon drink' into the United States was also big business. Gangs brought whiskey in from Canada via the Great Lakes and the North Atlantic, while syndicates snuck rum in from the Caribbean and Bahamas, and big European exporters funnelled booze through both avenues. The first line of defence against these foreign foes was the United States Coast Guard.

After Prohibition was introduced, 25 destroyers were transferred from the US Navy. It was thought that adapting these older warships for the Coast Guard would be cheaper than building new ones. But it took over a year to make these vessels – some of which predated World War I – seaworthy. Equally, these battleships were by far the largest and most sophisticated vessels to enter the service. The Coast Guard were forced to hire hundreds of new recruits to man them. However, some of these destroyers were relatively lightweight flivvers that could reach 25 knots (29mph; 46km/h). While this was still not fast enough to keep up with the contact boats that ran the contraband ashore, this allowed them to catch the mother ships that carried the bulk of the cargo further out at sea.

The United States Coast Guard Tucker, left, and Cassin formed part of the 'Rum patrol'

© Getty Images; WIKI; National Archives at St. Louis

Playwright Noel Coward was a frequent customer of the fashionable speakeasy known as the Marlborough House on New York's East Side

THE SPEAKEASY PHENOMENON

THE CLANDESTINE SPEAKEASIES, WHERE ILLEGAL ALCOHOL FLOWED FREELY, OWED THEIR EXISTENCE TO PROHIBITION AND BECAME AN ICONIC ELEMENT OF THE ROARING TWENTIES

For all its grand and moral intent, the era of Prohibition failed to end the consumption of alcoholic beverages in America. Instead, wrapped in the success of the temperance movement's victory with the 18th Amendment was a recipe for disaster – even more virulent than a stout shot of whiskey.

Rather than wiping out demon liquor, Prohibition drove drinking underground and ushered in a reign of mayhem and racketeering, steered largely by the kingpins of organised crime. Among the offspring of Prohibition were the appalling criminal activities of extortion and murder, corruption of public officials and law enforcement officers, and the undercurrent of a black market in liquor that thrived just out of sight. Perhaps the most influential child of Prohibition was the speakeasy, the clandestine bar or goodtime house, born of the era when the manufacture, transport and sale of alcohol were forbidden by law.

Logically, the birth of the speakeasy was inevitable. The allure of the secretive nightclub, its illicit offerings, and the atmosphere of glamour it engendered were irresistible. Arguably, the consumption of alcohol increased rather than diminished during Prohibition, and the heyday of the speakeasy was largely responsible for this startling unintended consequence. The speakeasy, often operating as a secret adjunct to a legitimate storefront restaurant, grocery store or other business, evoked a spirit of adventure and participation in an activity that the patron could not reconcile as being against the law. Prior to the establishment of Prohibition as the law of the land in the United States, having a drink was considered by many as just good adult-oriented fun, a socially acceptable activity.

The term 'speakeasy' was popularised in reference to the drinking and entertainment establishments that sprouted across the country when formerly highly visible bars and nightclubs were shut down. Various theories as to the origin of the term itself include old-time references to bars where patrons were encouraged to maintain decorum and 'speak easily' to avoid confrontations with one another or the authorities. Others assert that it was derived from the mysterious and cautious management of the illegal bars that urged secrecy to protect their franchises. Still another suggestion is that the term speakeasy came into common usage with the whisper of a password to gain entry through a hidden or locked door – the uttering of something as simple and familiar as "Joe sent me," might assure the bouncer that the party was interested in a good time instead of making arrests.

The speakeasy, also referred to as a 'blind pig', a 'blind tiger', or simply a 'gin joint', helped usher in a transformation of the American social experience. Clouds of smoke wafted towards the ceiling in low light, while jazz artists and dancers performed, sometimes invitingly close to those being entertained. The wealthy and well-known mingled with the ordinary citizen, the flapper with the businessman and the wage earner. Colour barriers were diminished as both whites and blacks drank, chatted, danced and even romanced. The main draw for the speakeasy, though, was the liquor, and it flowed freely, more freely than ever before in American history.

The speakeasies in major cities became focal points of evening entertainment and diversion, and at their peak in New York the city was said to be home to as many as 100,000 such secret establishments. That number was rivalled in Chicago, and the illegal bars also flourished in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Boston and Miami. Prohibition had opened the door for organised crime to exploit a new and free-flowing revenue stream, and though some entrepreneurial individuals opened their own drinking establishments in basements, garages and back rooms, the majority of the speakeasies were operated by the mob. In Chicago, Al Capone controlled up to 20,000 such establishments and made millions during the 1920s, dominating the flow of bootleg liquor into the city and its distribution to an extensive, thirsting speakeasy clientele.

In New York, Charles 'Lucky' Luciano was raking in $12 million annually by 1925 and clearing one-third of that sum after paying off police officers and public officials and covering the purchase of vast quantities of bootleg liquor imported from around the world. Luciano and his cohorts ran the largest bootlegging operation on the US East Coast, dominating black market alcohol commerce in New York, Philadelphia and across the state of New Jersey. He brought in whiskey from Canada, rum from the Caribbean, and expensive champagne and wines from Italy and France.

THE MOONSHINE WHISKEY SERVED IN SPEAKEASIES WAS SOMETIMES SO STRONG THAT IT COULD FUEL AN AUTOMOBILE

At times, the effort of law enforcement to shut down the speakeasies seemed to be an effort in futility – like battling the mythical hydra. While one speakeasy was raided, its liquor confiscated and destroyed and its proprietor jailed, three more sprang up to take its place. When these were identified and shuttered, the original was back in operation under the same recently released management. Officials in New Jersey actually claimed that after Prohibition took effect there were ten times as many illegal drinking establishments in the state as in pre-Prohibition days. In Boston, four speakeasies operated with impunity on the same street as the city's police headquarters.

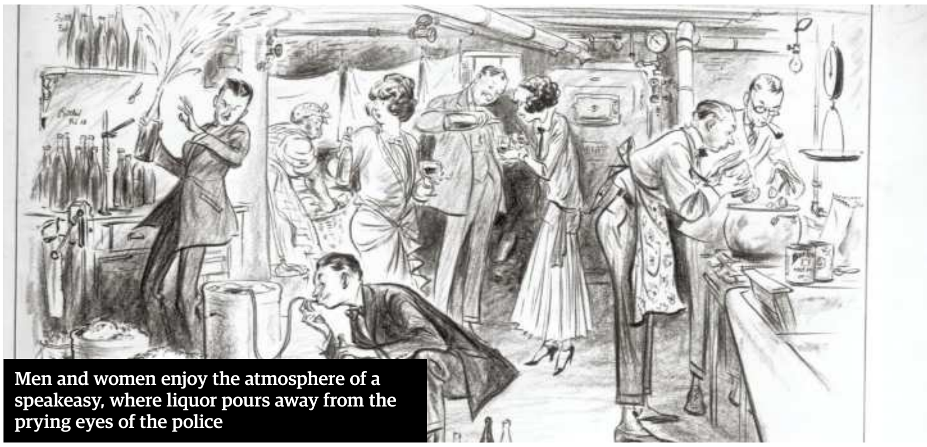
To avoid detection, the owners of speakeasies went to great lengths to conceal their operations. Trap doors, back-alley entrances, heavy curtains, hidden staircases and switches that turned shelves around were just a

Business goes on as usual in this speakeasy where bartenders wear neat white tunics and mix the drinks of the day

Duke Ellington and his orchestra pose in Chicago. The group was also a fixture at New York's Cotton Club

SO MANY SPEAKEASIES OPENED IN NEW YORK THAT IT WAS SOMETIMES REFERRED TO AS THE 'CITY ON A STILL'

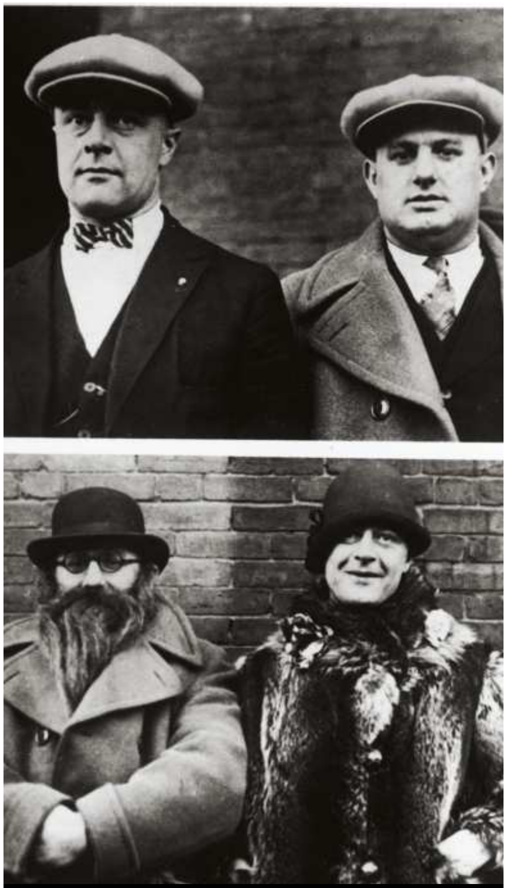
A youthful Ella Fitzgerald wowed speakeasy audiences with her rich, soulful voice during the Prohibition era


Men and women enjoy the atmosphere of a speakeasy, where liquor pours away from the prying eyes of the police

few of the inventive methods employed to avoid the long arm of the law. One of Capone's favourite Chicago haunts, the Green Mill was built with a secret passage that allowed customers to quietly slip away if police officers came nosing around.

In New York's 21 Club, a secret cellar safely held up to 2,000 bottles of bootleg liquor, while bottles could be thrown down invisible chutes, the doors were obscured, and the bartender could press a button that would flip a revolving bar shelf around. Another button dropped liquor bottles from a shelf straight down a chute into a cellar equipped with a drain. Speakeasies advertised surreptitiously through word of mouth, and as risks of discovery increased passwords used to gain entry might be supplemented by a secret knock or even a membership card. The Stork Club on East 51st Street in New York did, in fact, issue such cards to regular clients, and holding one of these earned the bearer a measure of prestige.

In some instances, the liquor purchase was a quick, straightforward transaction. A patron walked up to a heavy door with a pair of slits cut into it. Placing his order, he slipped payment into a tray under the watchful eye of the unknown bartender on the other side. In a moment, the drink was sent back through in the tray and both slits were closed. Other venues, known as clip joints, were disreputable establishments that took advantage of unwitting customers, luring



A pair of federal agents are shown before and after donning disguises, in order to infiltrate a speakeasy to make arrests

THE ART OF MIXOLOGY

SPEAKEASY CUSTOMERS DECRIED THE POOR TASTE OF BATHTUB GIN OR WATERED DOWN INDUSTRIAL ALCOHOL. MAKING USE OF AVAILABLE SUPPLIES, CREATIVE BARTENDERS COMBINED THE LIQUOR WITH SUGAR, FRUIT JUICE, SOFT DRINKS OR CREAM TO INVENT PALATABLE MIXED DRINKS THAT REMAIN POPULAR TODAY

Brandy Alexander

A blend of cream, cognac, and crème de cacao, the Brandy Alexander is a classic that appeared in *The Savoy Cocktail Book*, written by bartender Harry Craddock, who went to London in 1920 and returned a decade later to blend European and American recipes into a number of memorable drinks.

Aviation

Bartender Hugo Ensslin created the Aviation at Hotel Wallick in New York early in the 20th century, and it appeared in his 1916 book *Recipes for Mixed Drinks*. As Prohibition came along, Harry Craddock altered the recipe of gin, lemon juice, maraschino liqueur and crème de violette, omitting the last, scarce, ingredient.

Martini

Although its origin predates Prohibition, variations on the classic Martini made it a distinctly American drink during the period. The Martini consists primarily of London dry gin, dry vermouth and optional bitters strained into a chilled cocktail glass. A dirty Martini contains a splash of olive juice or brine.

Vanilla Milk Punch

On the eve of Prohibition, *Thrift* magazine published numerous mixed-drink recipes as a service to its readers – but the alcohol was conspicuously absent from each one. Vanilla Milk Punch had vanilla extract, sugar, an egg, milk, nutmeg and, oh yes, bourbon, brandy or rum – shaken well with ice and strained.

Leap Year

Another of Harry Craddock's Prohibition-era creations was the Leap Year cocktail. Craddock brought together two ounces of gin, a dash of lemon juice, half ounces of sweet vermouth and grand marnier, and then shook them well with ice, straining the mixture into a glass.

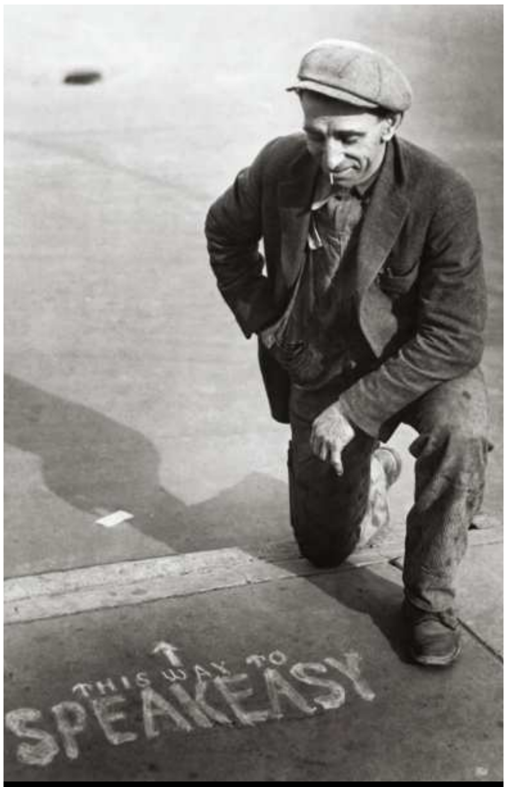
them inside with the promise of pretty girls and tasty drinks. Once the victim was inebriated sufficiently he was often robbed, beaten and thrown into the street. However, these establishments were not indicative of the speakeasy mystique, the phenomenon that has come to characterise the era of Prohibition and the carefree, hedonistic and debauched lifestyle of the Roaring Twenties.

HOLLYWOOD BROUGHT STORIES OF ORGANISED CRIME TO THE SILVER SCREEN AND MADE CULT FIGURES OF MAFIA BOSSES INVOLVED IN BOOTLEGGING

Public support for Prohibition was always lukewarm at best, and the post-World War I euphoria combined with greater social involvement and freedom for women who smoked openly, bobbed their hair and enjoyed new freedom of expression. The great migration brought African Americans to the cities of the North where they found jobs, and the rise of the 'Jazz Age', a phrase coined by the author F Scott Fitzgerald, launched legendary entertainment careers. Jazz singers and musicians found large, receptive and appreciative audiences and gained fame in these venues where 'speakeasy' was a term in sharp contrast to the loud, boisterous nightlife experience.

As speakeasy crowds grew, the demand for live entertainment grew as well, appealing to patrons while table service became more common as ladies often disliked sitting at bars. Food was transformed as well, and the modern concept of the restaurant matured with menu items and 'exotic' fare, such as Italian cuisine. At times, the available alcohol was of dubious quality, bathtub gin or rotgut industrial alcohol tainted with chemical additives that were watered down. To disguise their bad taste, these were mixed with fruit juices, soft drinks or other pleasant liquids, giving rise to a new generation of mixed drinks, many of which have become staple offerings in modern drinking establishments. Dating also came into vogue as young men and women socialised without the direct supervision of parents or other older adults. The speakeasy, therefore, influenced every aspect of American social life, reaching far beyond its closed doors and smoke-filled revelry rooms.

Decades after the wane of the speakeasy with the repeal of Prohibition in 1933, the legend of these venues lives on. Old photographs and tales of partying have conjured a wave of nostalgia, and some of the clubs operate legitimately even today. The era of speakeasy society still fascinates.



A potential customer eyes a sign written on a city street that points the way to illegal refreshment during the Prohibition era

In New York, the most famous speakeasies included the 21 Club on West 52nd Street, where actors and entertainers such as Frank Sinatra and Humphrey Bogart were frequent visitors and author Ernest Hemingway was also known to frequent the establishment; Casa Blanca, where mob boss Larry Fay sold whiskey he had smuggled into the US from Canada and was gunned down by an angry door man in 1932; and both the 300 Club and Club Intime, owned and operated by Texas Guinan, one of the most colourful figures of the shadowy speakeasy scene, who always insisted to law enforcement agents that she had brought her own liquor to the establishments rather than purchasing bootleg alcohol. Club Intime was located next door to the heavily trafficked Polly Adler brothel in midtown Manhattan. The famed Stork Club on West 58th Street was owned by bootlegger Sherman Billingsley, and writers Robert Benchley and Dorothy Parker frequented the Puncheon Club on West 49th Street.

At Chumley's, which opened its secret doors in the West Village in 1922, prominent literary figures of the day congregated, including Hemingway, Fitzgerald, Willa Cather, Norman Mailer, John Steinbeck, Edna St Vincent Millay and EE Cummings. Chumley's personnel originated the term '86' that has become synonymous in restaurants and bars with cancelling an order. When the joint was about to be raided, the shout of "86!" signalled customers to quickly exit through the secret door at 86 Bedford Street. The Landmark Tavern, originally an Irish saloon, was opened as a family business in 1868, the establishment on the first floor of the building and the living quarters on the second and third floors. When Prohibition arrived, the family moved

THE SPEAKEASY LINGO

ALWAYS IN THE SHADOWS, THE CULTURE OF THE SPEAKEASY DEVELOPED ITS OWN LANGUAGE AND CODE WORDS WHILE THE ESTABLISHMENTS STAYED HIDDEN

When the speakeasy rose to prominence during Prohibition, a language all its own sprang up. Those who patronised the speakeasy called the main attraction anything but liquor. They referred to it as tarantula juice, panther sweat, coffin varnish and hooch. Those who took advantage when free drinks were offered were called 'cellar smellers'.

And then there was the danger associated with drinking illicit alcohol, either made in unsafe conditions or with poisonous ingredients. One example of an alcohol-induced malady was the 'jake walk' or 'jake foot', describing a debilitating side effect of doctored Jake, a medicine with high alcohol content and Jamaican ginger. When the authorities wanted the ginger content elevated to prevent the medicine from being over-prescribed, bootleggers also added a plasticiser, tricresyl phosphate, a powerful neurotoxin, to keep it drinkable. The result was devastating to thousands who indulged. They developed the strange gait and sometimes became permanently paralysed. Singer Asa Martin crooned about *Jake Walk Papa*.

Speakeasy slang began to creep into everyday use, and soon people were frequently using 'skid row' to define an area where habitual drunkards lay about, rather than its original meaning from the logging trade where timber slid into the harbours of the Pacific Northwest. Other slang terms referred to every element of a night on the town, when revellers got all 'dolled up' in their 'glad rags' to have a 'scronch' and 'beat their gums', spending all their 'mazuma' – in other words, dressing well, heading to a speakeasy for a few drinks and a dance, and socialising until all their money was gone!

Customers crowd a Prohibition-era speakeasy as the bartenders work to fill orders and conversation is lively

QUEEN OF THE NIGHT CLUBS

TEXAS GUINAN WAS A WELL-KNOWN SPEAKEASY PROPRIETOR DURING THE PROHIBITION ERA IN NEW YORK CITY

Mary Louise Cecilia Guinan was better known as 'Texas', since she hailed from the city of Waco in the Southwestern state. Born in 1884, she worked as a female lead in numerous silent films, particularly Westerns as she portrayed gun-toting and horseback-riding cowgirls in more than 30 productions. She was lured to New York following an introduction to mobster Larry Fay and began working as a hostess at his El Fey club. She went on to gain a reputation as an entertainer in her own right, engaging customers in lively conversation and greeting them with her familiar "Hello suckers!"

Actress and speakeasy owner Texas Guinan relaxes in 1933, the year of her untimely death just before the end of Prohibition

Guinan opened her own speakeasies after leaving Fay, and when law enforcement officers arrested her in 1927 she claimed she was only the hostess at her 300 Club. The jury found her innocent of violating the Volstead Act. Interestingly, she only drank coffee. Later, Texas took a stage show on the road and starred as Texas Malone, a character based on her own persona, in the movie *Queen of the Night Clubs*. In November 1933, while performing in Vancouver, Washington, she became seriously ill with ulcerative colitis. She died the next day during emergency surgery. 12,000 mourners attended her lavish funeral in New York.

AL CAPONE BEGAN HIS RISE TO PROMINENCE IN CHICAGO WHEN MOBSTER JOHNNY TORRIO RETIRED IN 1925

its living space to the first and second floors, while the bar was relocated to a speakeasy on the third. Through 13 years of Prohibition, it was never raided by police. Uncharacteristically, the Nepenthe Club catered to men only, accommodating crowds of up to 80, and was reputed to serve the best food in New York.

Perhaps the most enduring legacy of the speakeasy, the Jazz Age, and legendary entertainment belongs to the Cotton Club, a glittering mecca in Harlem. Themed as a merry cotton plantation, the Cotton Club was frequented by white patrons, while most of its servers and staff were black. Crime boss Owney Madden ran the club, which featured such entertainment luminaries as Duke Ellington and his orchestra, long the establishment's house band, Ella Fitzgerald, Cab Calloway, Count Basie and Lena Horne. Contending for preeminence in entertainment, Connie's Inn hosted some of the best known jazz entertainers of the Roaring Twenties, including legends such as Louis Armstrong and Fats Waller. Also located in Harlem, Connie's Inn was owned by Conrad Immerman and his brothers, George and Louie, who had emigrated from Latvia and ran a delicatessen along with a thriving bootlegging operation. Patrons of these competing clubs and others danced the Lindy Hop, the Foxtrot and Charleston, and they drank… and drank.

THE WELL-KNOWN COTTON CLUB WAS LOCATED ON 142ND STREET IN HARLEM, AND ITS GLITTERING SIGNAGE BECKONED CUSTOMERS TO ENTER

At another Cotton Club, one of Chicago's finest speakeasies located in the suburb of Cicero, jazz greats performed to packed houses, and the enterprise was run by Al Capone's brother, Ralph. Even Chicago mayor Jim 'Big Bill' Thompson was a patron. Armstrong recorded a drinking song called *Knockin' a Jug*, and Bessie Smith sang the line "Any bootlegger sure is a pal of mine," on her hit titled *Me and My Gin*.

When the Wall Street stock market crash struck like lightning on 29 October 1929, the carefree days of the speakeasy quickly began to wane. Their own numbers worked against them, and disposable income plummeted, causing many of the establishments to close their doors voluntarily, something law enforcement officers had never been able to accomplish. Speakeasy owners became targets for a wave of prosecutions on tax-evasion charges rather than bootlegging counts, and the need for government tax revenue and job creation contributed to the repeal of Prohibition in 1933.

Like Prohibition itself, the speakeasy faded from the limelight, its memory an enduring aspect of a bygone era. Still, it played a dynamic role that transcended the base need for a stiff drink. It was the place where varied cultures flowed together and became an amalgamation of perspectives on life and living. In its own way, the speakeasy continues to influence the American experience.

Prohibition agents stand over a haul of booze confiscated from a speakeasy

Bartender Harry Craddock, who gained notoriety during Prohibition, mixes a drink for a thirsty patron in London's Savoy Hotel

Gangster Owney Madden owned the Cotton Club in Harlem and directed a mob of hoodlums in New York's Hell's Kitchen

Male and female clients belly up to the bar for an alcoholic beverage in this speakeasy photo from 1930

BOOTLEGGING, RUM RUNNING AND PROHIBITION

THE ILLEGAL ALCOHOL TRADE PROSPERED ON LAND AND SEA AS BOOTLEGGERS RAISED SMUGGLING TO NEW HEIGHTS OF SUCCESS DURING PROHIBITION

There was money to be made, a demand to be satisfied, and it brought out the daring and intrepid, the career criminal, the mom and pop producer, and the otherwise law-abiding citizen during the Prohibition era. Bootlegging, the illegal transport and sale of liquor as specified in the Volstead Act, flourished during the period from 1920 until the repeal of the 18th Amendment to the US Constitution ended the "noble experiment" in 1933.

America's thirst for alcohol, particularly distilled spirits and good liquor, did not slake with the beginning of Prohibition. In fact, the consumption of alcohol may have become an even more popular pastime. There was something exciting about taking a drink during a period when the manufacture, sale and transport of the substance was forbidden by law. Clandestine bars, known as speakeasies, sprang up across the United States, and their primary draw was, of course, the alcoholic beverage. It followed logically that serving the customer meant tapping into a ready supply of illegally obtained liquor.

There were many 'entrepreneurs' ready to oblige. The term 'bootlegging' was already in use by the 1920s, having originated during the American Civil War when soldiers hid small pints of whisky in their boots to smuggle them into camp. The moniker became common during Prohibition in reference first to individuals who sold liquor from flasks hidden beneath their trousers on the streets. From there, it has remained part of the familiar lexicon, referring to anything that is an illicit copy of an original.

The illegal production of liquor did not originate with Prohibition – the practice had been around for years as individuals sought to avoid paying taxes or dealing with other restrictions on the product. Moonshine stills

GEO EHRET'S
EXTRA BEER

Federal tax agents dismantle a New York City bar after its owner was arrested for bootlegging located in the woods of the South or the mountains of the Northeast were not uncommon. Small boats that brought untaxed rum to America from the Caribbean were already plying their craft. During Prohibition, though, the art of bootlegging and the millions of dollars it produced made the practice thrive.

The illegal manufacture of alcohol occurred in cities and remote areas of the United States. It was pursued on an industrial scale and in the basements of modest homes. At the same time, the illegal importing of foreign-made liquor was a commercial boon for organised crime and the bit player as well. Canadian and Mexican liquor found its way across the borders of the United States. From Canada the routes were either overland or via the Great Lakes or the Saint Lawrence Seaway. From Mexico, bootleggers brought tequila and other liquor across the largely unprotected desert frontier or smuggled it through port cities in Texas such as Corpus Christi and Galveston. The battle between the bootleggers and the law enforcement agents was never-ending.

From 1921 to 1925, US Prohibition Bureau agents shut down nearly 700,000 stills, apparatuses rigged to produce alcohol that was often extremely potent. In a single year alone from 1928 to 1929, they seized 1.1 million gallons of alcohol, 15,700 distilleries and 11,416 stills. Nevertheless, they seldom succeeded in slowing the trade down at all. The profits were enormous. In the state of New York, a typical still might generate up to 100 gallons of alcohol a day at a cost of roughly half a dollar per gallon. The sale price for the same gallon ranged from $3 to $12, and in the midst of Prohibition the US government reasoned that the additional flow of foreign liquor into the country was a $3 billion industry.

In the rural South and other areas, the delivery of moonshine whiskey to market spawned a multi-million-dollar sport – stock car racing. With its roots in Prohibition, the National Association for Stock Car Auto Racing (NASCAR) owes the era a debt for its very existence. Production was one thing, but transporting whiskey to market was another. Bootleggers became adept at taking standard automobiles and "souping up" their engines to outrun the police cars that often chased them in vain. Typically, an engine could be torn down in a garage and rebuilt, while seats and floorboards were stripped out to make room for as much moonshine as possible. Extra springs were added underneath to manage weight distribution, and dirt plates were installed to protect radiators. The introduction of larger engines, particularly the Ford flathead V8 that became available in 1932, brought greater horsepower to the game as well.

There was no substitute for superior driving skills as bootleggers roared down dirt roads in darkness, often with their headlights out, took hairpin curves and put the gas pedal to the floor on the straightaway to evade the law. Good tyres were essential, and the ability of the bootlegging driver to fix his own vehicle in a pinch gave rise to the incredible efficiency of the modern NASCAR pit crew getting its driver back into a race. The earliest stock car racing stars honed their skills as bootleggers. One of the most famous was Junior Johnson, who carried sour mash made from corn as a teenager. Edmund Fahey of Spokane, Washington, drove a stripped-down Buick full of Canadian Scotch across the international border.

Foreign liquor was always in high demand during Prohibition, and major crime figures like Al Capone and Charles 'Lucky' Luciano and their cohorts made fortunes in the cities of Chicago and New York respectively. Bootleggers operated in almost every major city in the United States, and the illegal trade resulted in the exponential growth of organised crime across the nation. In New York, Luciano became immensely wealthy and was joined by a rogue's gallery of hoods and criminals including Meyer Lansky, Benjamin 'Bugsy' Siegel, Frank

THE MIXED DRINK BECAME POPULAR DURING PROHIBITION, PARTIALLY TO HIDE THE BAD TASTE OF THE 'ROTGUT' WHISKEY THAT WAS AVAILABLE

RUM RUNNER WILLIAM McCOY

THE MOST FAMOUS OF THE RUM RUNNING SEA CAPTAINS, WILLIAM 'BILL' McCOY TOOK PRIDE IN DELIVERING THE BEST AVAILABLE LIQUOR

The dawn of Prohibition put William McCoy in business, and he developed quite a reputation as a successful rum runner. Although his name and pride in offering the best liquor available to his customers have been linked to the popular phrase "the real McCoy", the saying was probably already in use by the Prohibition era.

Nevertheless, McCoy bought an old schooner named the Arethusa at auction, refitted it as a smuggling vessel, and renamed it Tomoka before setting out on a profitable venture along the United States' East Coast that eventually landed him in jail. When sailing straight into American ports became too risky, McCoy reportedly came up with the idea of halting just outside the three-mile territorial limit of American waters and selling to bootleggers on smaller, faster boats that could reach the shoreline with relative ease.

The three-mile limit soon became known as the Rum Line, and the ships that waited outside it were called Rum Row.

McCoy's profitability and his luck ran out on 23 November 1923, when the US Coast Guard cutter Seneca spotted Tomoka engaged in illicit activity. A boarding party from the Seneca was fended off with machine-gun fire, but then the cutter put a shot from its large deck gun across the rum-runner's bow and the contest was quickly over.

McCoy offered no excuses for his criminal activity, explaining that he had merely provided the supply that had been demanded. He pleaded guilty to bootlegging and spent nine months in a New Jersey jail before retiring to Florida to invest in real estate.

Cargo space aboard the US Coast Guard cutter Seneca is filled with contraband liquor seized from a smuggler like William McCoy

IN CONTRAST TO THE STAGGERING EARNINGS OF PROHIBITION BOOTLEGGERS, THE COMMANDANT OF THE US COAST GUARD WAS PAID $6,000 A YEAR

A federal agent examines a tightly packed collection of illegal alcohol that has been seized during a recent raid

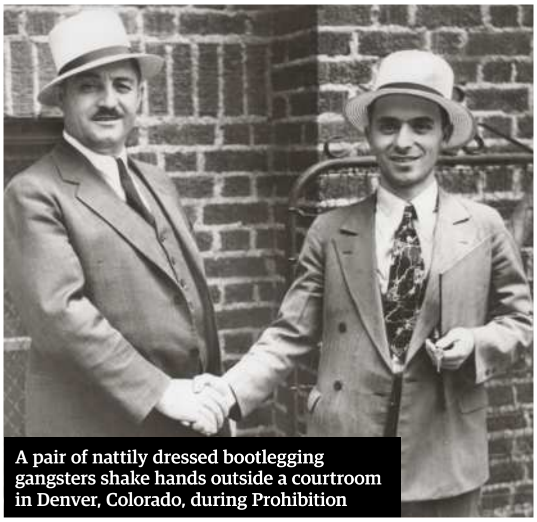
CONCOCTING BATHTUB GIN

BATHTUB GIN WAS SOMETIMES HARDLY DRINKABLE, ALTHOUGH ITS MAKERS WENT TO GREAT LENGTHS TO PRODUCE IT

Bootlegging became a cottage industry for some Americans looking for a profitable venture, and probably the most famous of their fermented products came to be known as 'bathtub gin'. The process for making bathtub gin was relatively simple. A small still was used to ferment a mixture or mash of fruit, potatoes, beets or corn sugar, and the resulting alcohol was high-powered indeed, sometimes reaching 200 proof or sometimes even more. The alcohol was then combined with glycerine and a dash of juniper oil to provide a measure of flavouring before it was watered down significantly to reduce its potency and provide greater volume for increased sales.

When the necks of commonly used bottles were too high to fit underneath the faucets of kitchen sinks to be topped off with water, the faucet in the bathtub would do. That gave rise to the crude beverage being called bathtub gin, a nickname that first appeared around 1920. Most of the time, the taste was intolerable, and the alcohol was mixed with fruit juice, soft drinks or anything that might make it more palatable. Many of the gin drinks that are regularly served in bars and restaurants today owe their existence to the bad taste of bathroom gin.

A woman holds several bottles of illegal alcohol, and one of them is prominently labelled 'GIN', probably from a bathtub


A pair of nattily dressed bootlegging gangsters shake hands outside a courtroom in Denver, Colorado, during Prohibition

Revenue agents collect thousands of bottles of alcohol seized during a raid on Long Island, New York

Costello and Vito Genovese. Capone ruled Chicago with an iron fist, and the city gained infamy for its gang violence, including the Saint Valentine's Day Massacre of 1929. At least 1,000 people died in gang violence in New York City during the Prohibition years.

However, supplying the speakeasies was a lucrative industry and these individuals were often willing to risk their lives for a piece of the action. Capone reportedly earned a staggering $100 million dollars a year and doled out about half a million dollars annually in hush money and bribes to corrupt public officials and law enforcement officers, who looked the other way and allowed his alcohol trade to proceed without interference. In 1921, around 100 Prohibition agents were fired for accepting payoffs in New York City.

If a romantic or adventurous element emerged during the heyday of bootlegging, it came with those who supplied the Mob bosses with their liquid gold. The so-called 'rum runners' seized the opportunity to make personal fortunes in small ships, every available space loaded with contraband alcohol – fine wines and champagne from France and Italy, gin and Scotch manufactured in Great Britain, whiskey from Canada, and cheap rum produced in the islands of the Caribbean. For those who initially smuggled rum into the United States, it soon became apparent that other types of illegal alcohol might bring a better return, although one of the biggest names in rum-running history gained notoriety on the trek from the Bahamas to the American coast.

William S 'Bill' McCoy regularly brought loads of rum to the edge of the three-mile limit, where international waters met those under the jurisdiction of the United

THE FIRST OFFICIAL NASCAR RACE WAS HELD ON 15 FEBRUARY 1948, LONG AFTER PROHIBITION HAD ENDED

States Coast Guard. From there, McCoy and others like him sold their rum and whiskey to other smugglers, usually in small, swift boats that were fast and manoeuvrable, often converted pleasure yachts or speedboats fitted with machine guns and powered by converted aircraft engines. They usually outran the Coast Guard patrol boats that chased them. Successful rum runners made handsome profits, but the risks were high. Those that ventured into remote waterways or beaches under cover of darkness sometimes ran afoul of sandbars or coral reefs and came to grief, the evidence of their demise consisting of floating bottles and debris that were discovered by the authorities in daylight.

Since neither the 18th Amendment nor the Volstead Act prohibited the consumption of alcohol, the production of homemade beverages, particularly beer and wine, skyrocketed in America during Prohibition. It has been estimated that nearly 700 million gallons of homemade wine were consumed between 1925 and 1929, more than three times the amount that had fermented in closets and basements prior to Prohibition. California vintners increased their acreage in grape cultivation nearly seven times to a whopping 680,000 acres. Meanwhile, the price of a ton of grapes soared from $9.50 in 1919 to $375 in 1924. The Volstead Act specifically addressed home winemaking and noted that heads of households that registered with the authorities were allowed to make up to 200 gallons of wine per year and remain exempt from taxation on the product.

Grocery stores stocked the ingredients necessary for the home brewer or fermenter, or the would-be bootlegger for that matter, to try their hand at the craft. Corn sugar and syrup, malt syrup, hops, yeast, bottles, bottle cappers and even small stills were available for home use.

Among the other permissible uses for alcohol during Prohibition were medicinal and religious purposes, and unscrupulous doctors and druggists made money with unnecessary prescriptions that put alcohol in the hands of those willing to pay. During Prohibition the number of licensed 'physicians' and 'pharmacists' increased dramatically. The same was true for those purported to be ministers in need of wine to conduct their worship rites.

The dangers of consuming alcohol of unknown origin increased the demand for quality liquor. In many cases, thieves stole industrial-grade alcohol from facilities, diluted it, and then siphoned it into speakeasies despite the fact that government regulations mandated such alcohol should be rendered undrinkable with the addition of chemicals such as benzene or wood alcohol that gave it a foul taste or odour. Consuming such tainted alcohol sometimes resulted in blindness, organ damage or even death, and an estimated 50,000 people died from consuming 'rotgut' liquor that had been 'doctored' by bootleggers intent on making a quick dollar.

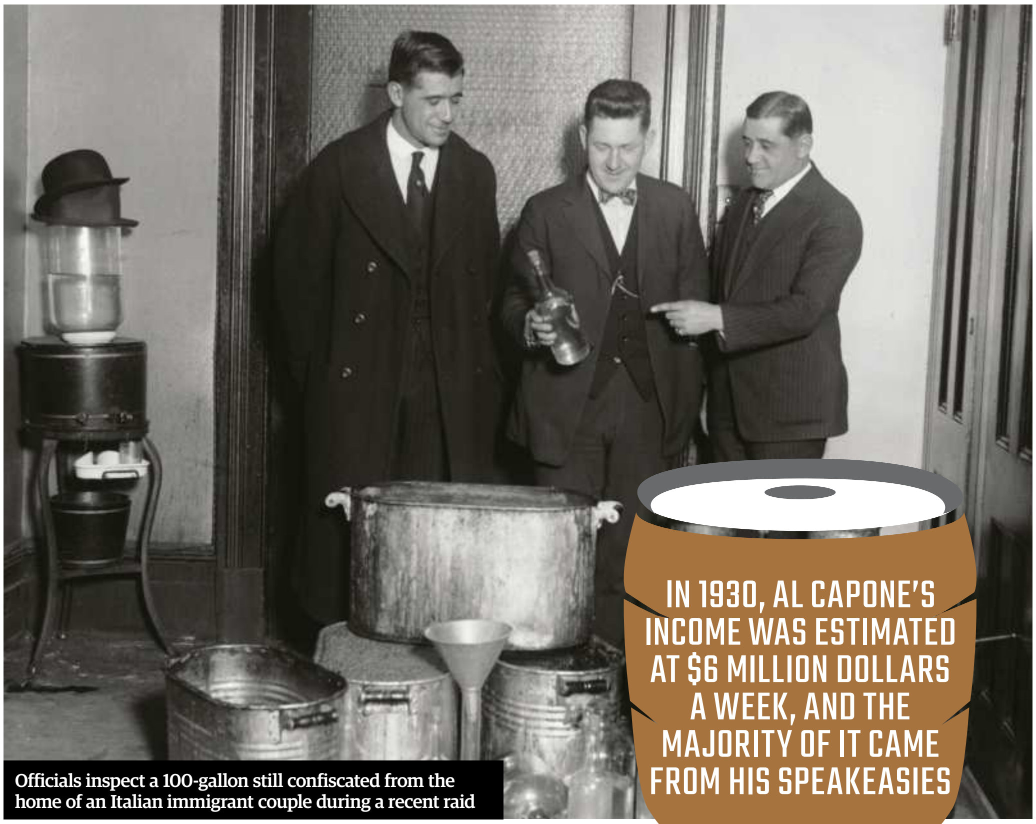
From the beginning of Prohibition, the deck was stacked against law enforcement, including officers

Bootlegger and gangster Dutch Schultz posed stoically before going on trial for tax evasion in New York

A confiscated bootlegger's car is opened to reveal a hidden compartment where bottles of liquor were stored

Gunned down in their car, a bootlegger and his unfortunate girlfriend met an untimely end during Prohibition-era gang warfare

A bootlegger dumps his load of illegal whiskey from his small boat as a government vessel closes in



Officials inspect a 100-gallon still confiscated from the home of an Italian immigrant couple during a recent raid

IN 1930, AL CAPONE'S INCOME WAS ESTIMATED AT $6 MILLION DOLLARS A WEEK, AND THE MAJORITY OF IT CAME FROM HIS SPEAKEASIES of the Bureau of Prohibition, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the Coast Guard, Internal Revenue agents, Customs and Immigration officials, and local police and sheriff's offices. The Bureau of Prohibition was established in 1920 as a department of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, later becoming a unit of the Department of the Treasury and then the Department of Justice. Although law enforcement achieved some notable successes during Prohibition, arresting, prosecuting and jailing offenders for lengthy periods, funding was never adequate and the ingenuity of the bootleggers kept them largely a step ahead of the authorities. Bootleggers hid their product inside innocent-looking shipping crates, they disguised bottles of whiskey as some other substance, and they dealt ruthlessly with those who informed or broke their illicit trust.

When Prohibition went into effect in 1920, the government of the United States had provided funding for only 1,500 enforcement personnel with responsibility for the entire country and training was inadequate as well. In all of 1923, the 48 states and the federal government combined spent less than $500,000 to carry out the implementation of the Volstead Act, which supposedly provided the real 'teeth' of the 18th Amendment. During the 14 years of Prohibition, the task of fighting the bootlegger and the smuggler was daunting. Despite the number of federal agents expanding to 3,000 during the late 1920s, there was simply no way to guard more than 12,000 miles of coastline from the Gulf of Mexico to the North Atlantic and from the southern tip of California to the Pacific Northwest, while the long borders with Canada and Mexico also stretched thousands of miles.

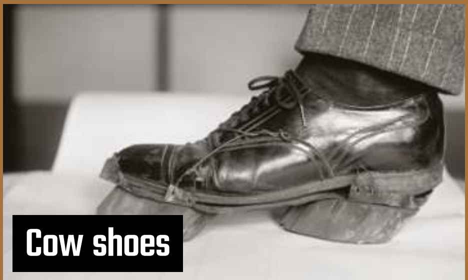
In Chicago, the 300 Prohibition officers on duty were overwhelmed by Capone's legion of at least 1,000 thugs, while the mafia kingpin controlled some 10,000 speakeasies across the city. Still, one of the most notable successes for law enforcement during the Prohibition era was the conviction of Capone for tax evasion. Along with Eliot Ness, a young Prohibition agent largely responsible for Capone's downfall in Chicago, two New York officers, Isidor 'Izzy' Einstein and Moe Smith, gained fame for their exploits in the fight against illegal alcohol.

Izzy and Moe, as they were popularly known, used unorthodox methods to get their men, including undercover operations posing as construction workers, foreigners, or individuals arriving from out of town and looking for a good time. Izzy is believed to have arrested nearly 5,000 perpetrators during Prohibition, often after making an illegal purchase and using a hidden hose to deposit the alcohol, now to be used as evidence, into a hidden flask. Although the pair were successful, their bosses deemed the media attention that they generated as detrimental to the service and dissolved their partnership in 1925.

In the end, the most effective antidote to bootlegging was the repeal of the 18th Amendment in 1933. With the end of Prohibition, alcohol commerce became legal once again – most of the time. But the bootlegger was never completely put out of business, and the activity still occurs in America today.

FOOLING LAW ENFORCEMENT

BOOTLEGGERS CAME UP WITH INNOVATIVE METHODS OF SMUGGLING ALCOHOL RIGHT UNDER THE NOSES OF POLICE OFFICERS AND FEDERAL AGENTS

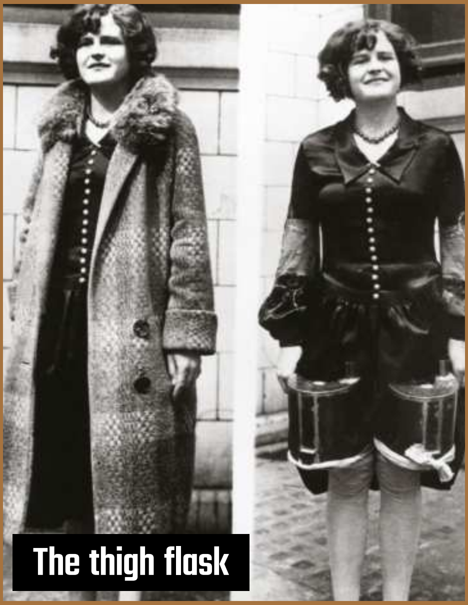


Cow shoes

Bootleggers in rural areas made shoes that resembled the hooves of cows to cover their tracks while transporting moonshine during Prohibition. The idea is attributed to a story involving famed British detective Sherlock Holmes in which the guilty party disguised his horse's hoof prints as those of a cow.

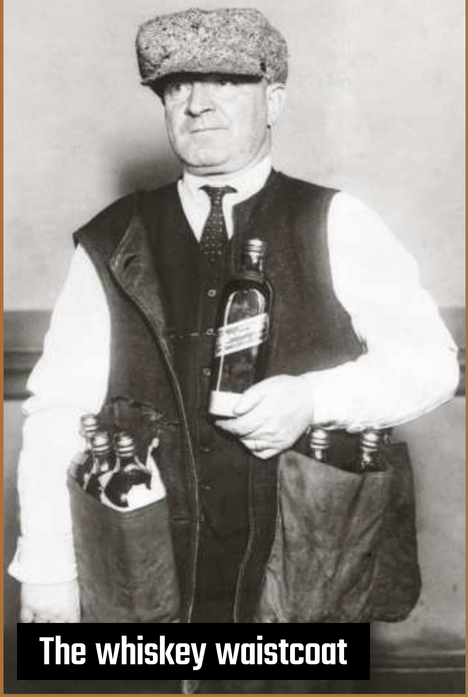
The four swallows

A play on words accompanied the ingenious disguising of several small servings of a favourite alcohol in a flask that was made to resemble an innocent book. Four vials of liquor were hidden inside, and the clever title of the work, a real bestseller, was *Spring Poems: The Four Swallows*.



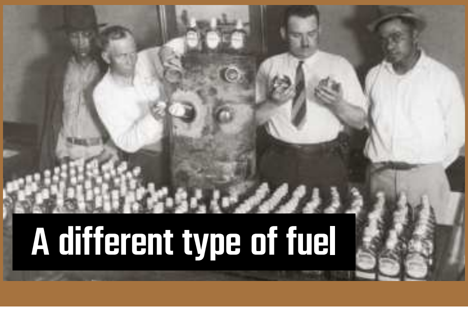
The thigh flask

The secret to successfully smuggling alcohol inside a set of bulky thigh flasks that were suspended from the wearer's waist was to cover them with a large overcoat. Dealing with the additional weight was another problem as the so-called tins were filled with the illegal liquid and added several pounds.



The whiskey waistcoat

Adding substantially to the wearer's girth, the whiskey waistcoat came in various sizes, allowing a bootlegger to carry multiple bottles of contraband booze into reputable establishments, hopefully without attracting attention. A heavy overcoat had to be worn for concealment, and the clinking of bottles could give the effort away.

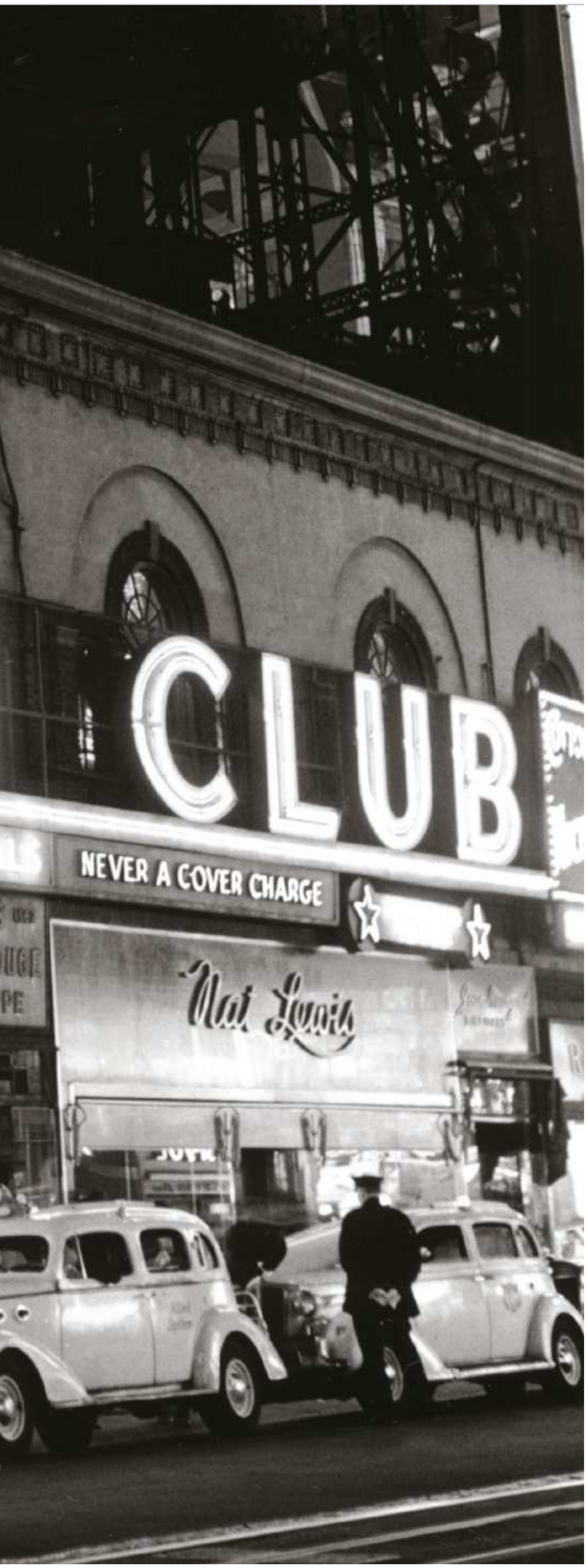


A different type of fuel

Even a vehicle's fuel tank was discovered as a potential hiding place for dozens of bottles of illegal whiskey. These tanks were often located in positions that were difficult to inspect and required some degree of disassembly to find any secreted alcohol. Nevertheless, some smugglers using this method were undone.

COTTON
DINNER $1.50
50 TALL TAN
Palais D'or HAT SHOPPE
1584 De Milo GOWNS DRESSES
LEWIS MOULIN RO HAT SHOPP
HOSIERY
HAND-BAGS
LINGERIE

The Cotton Club was far from a secret affair, advertising its location in brightly lit letters



THE PARTY GOES ON

WHILE OTHER SPEAKEASIES WERE SHUT DOWN, THE HOOCH ALWAYS FLOWED AT HARLEM'S LEGENDARY COTTON CLUB

"Any bootlegger sure is a pal of mine/ 'Cause a good 'ol bottle o'gin will get it all the time," sang Bessie Smith, the Empress of the Blues. It would not have been out of place to hear her belt out *Me and My Gin* on stage at the Cotton Club, Harlem's hottest speakeasy. Throughout Prohibition, high-class patrons from downtown Manhattan flooded into the nightclub to enjoy a drink, see the newest dances and hear some of the greatest musicians of the Jazz Age perform. While the Cotton Club gave the likes of Duke Ellington, Cab Calloway and Ethel Waters their big break, the story of gangster Owney 'Killer' Madden's legendary nightspot is hardly one to be celebrated.

The Cotton Club started out as the DeLuxe Club. On the corner of 142nd and Lenox Avenue, it was situated in the heart of Harlem. It was owned by Jack Johnson, the first African American world heavyweight champion. Opened in 1920, the year Prohibition began, the DeLuxe was promoted as an intimate supper club. Patrons could enjoy fine dining with a cabaret show in a relaxed atmosphere. However, it didn't remain that way for long once Owney Madden – later described by authorities as Public Enemy No 2 – was released from Sing Sing Prison.

Born Owen Mathers in 1892 to poor Irish parents in Leeds, England, he had been sent to live with an aunt in New York City as a child in 1901. Growing up in Hell's Kitchen, a Manhattan neigbourhood dominated by working-class Irish Americans, he was rechristened 'Owney'. By the age of 14 he was embroiled with a street gang known as the Gophers, which had their hands in everything from robbery to prostitution. Working as part of a protection racket, he made as much as $200 a day – equivalent to $2,500 in today's money. Age 18, he gained a new nickname: 'The Killer'. He earned the nom de guerre for gunning down an Italian gang in the middle of the street. Afterward he proudly boasted, "I'm Owney Madden, 10th Avenue!" Despite the public nature of the killing, no witnesses came forward.

By 1914, Madden had been a suspect in the deaths of five more rival gang members and arrested 44 times, but never convicted. This changed with the slaying of Little Patsy Doyle, a prominent member of the Hudson Dusters. Protesting his innocence, Madden was sentenced to ten to 20 years in prison. But by keeping his head down, the gangster managed to get released on parole in 1923. The Gopher Gang had disintegrated by that time, but bootlegging offered Madden a new golden opportunity. He went to work for Big Bill Dwyer.

Dwyer was an Irish dockworker who had gotten rich by rum-running. By smuggling and diluting contraband liquor from Europe and Canada, Dwyer made enough money not just to bribe police officers and Coast Guard members, but also to buy a home in Long Island, prime Manhattan real estate, and even a hockey team. Recognising Madden's skills, Dwyer took him on as a partner and charged him with protecting their shipments, making sure they weren't hijacked by rivals.

With investment from another gangster named 'Big Frenchy' DeMange, Madden bought the DeLuxe Club. While it's likely Madden had to strongarm Jack Johnson into giving up his club, an agreement was reached where the boxer was allowed to stay on. Johnson, who would prop up the bar and entertain guests, occasionally still described himself as the manager. However, there was no mistaking who was really in charge at the club.

The nightclub closed for a year while Madden renovated it. It was arranged in two concentric tiers of tables laid out in the shape of a horseshoe. Murals trimmed the walls around the room. The bandstand was a replica of a southern plantation mansion with large, white columns and a backdrop painted with weeping willows and slave quarters. The band played on the veranda of the mansion. A few steps down was the dance floor, which was also used for floor shows.

The plantation theme of the Cotton Club's decor extended to Madden's strict segregation policy. Though it was in the middle of Harlem and showcased black talent, the clientele were white only; even the families of headlining performers weren't allowed in. Chorus girls had to be, as advertisment's promised, "tall, tan and terrific!" That's to say they had to be at least 167 centimetres (5'6") tall, light-skinned, and under 21 years of age. Both male and female dancers would be dressed like exotic savages or even plantation workers.

The nightclub opened for business at 9pm with music for dining and dancing. Just after midnight, the first floor show kicked off and the final elaborately staged song and dance revue ended at 3am. The Cotton Club was supposed to be a front for Madden to launder money from his racketeering, which extended beyond bootlegging to illegal gambling, extortion, and rigging boxing matches. However, the fast-rising crime boss couldn't help but sell liquor under the table. Drinks included Madden Number 1, a beer he defiantly made himself in the middle of Manhattan, in a block-long brewery he co-founded with Dwyer.

The Duke Ellington Orchestra opened as the resident band at The Cotton Club in 1927. While the band leader's top hat and tails lent class to the place, he composed some of his most famous works during this period of his career. A completely new floor show was mounted every six months, though they were also fast and furious. The chorus line gave a young Josephine Baker a taste for exotic dancing. Behind the scenes, top Broadway and Tin Pan Alley songwriters, including Dorothy Fields

DUKE ELLINGTON'S REAL NAME WAS EDWARD KENNEDY ELLINGTON, BUT HE WAS CALLED 'DUKE' FOR HIS EASY GRACE

THE HARLEM RENAISSANCE

THE PROHIBITION ERA SAW A FLOWERING OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN ART, ESPECIALLY IN THE HEART OF NEW YORK

Poet Langston Hughes described the Cotton Club as a "Jim Crow club for gangsters and monied whites." While it might seem risky to openly criticise Killer Madden's club in the press, Hughes was so affronted by the whites-only nightclub in the heart of Harlem as the neighbourhood was enjoying a cultural golden age that he couldn't help himself.

From the 1920s, the Harlem Renaissance saw a flowering of arts celebrating black pride. While activists like WEB Du Bois helped shape the era's politics, it was never dominated by one school of thought but rather characterised by debate. Musicians like Duke Ellington, Fats Waller, Fletcher Henderson and Bessie Smith provided the soundtrack to this era, pioneering jazz and blues. Writers like Hughes, Claude McKay and Jessie Redmon Fauset published poetry, novels and magazine articles exploring black identity. Musical revues, such as Eubie Blak and Noble Sissle's influential *Shuffle Along*, were a staple of the time. In 1929, Wallace Thurman and William Rapp's show *Harlem* even played Broadway. Playwright Willis Richardson offered more serious roles for black actors with his one-act plays, as did stock companies like the Krigwa Players.

The Cotton Club arguably exploited this cultural revival for its own ends, but Prohibition did help the Harlem Renaissance last as long as it did. While the Wall Street Crash of 1929 put many out of business, wealthy white patrons in search of a drink ensured an audience remained for black performances until the mid-1930s.

Langston Hughes poses outside of his house in the heart of Harlem

Cab Calloway leads the band at the New Year's celebration of 1937 at the Cotton Club

and Jimmy McHugh, as well as Harold Arlen and Ted Koehler, penned hit tunes for The Cotton Club.

While the illegal hooch was flowing, the Cotton Club brazenly hosted live radio broadcasts. Transmitted each week on WHN and later NBC, these shows helped spread the fame of the club and its musicians to an audience across America. The speakeasy was briefly shut down in 1925, but Madden's political connections ensured it quickly reopened.

As the Cotton Club's reputation spread, celebrities and socialites were increasingly spotted there. Movie star Judy Garland, composer George Gershwin, and New York City mayor Jimmy Walker were all regular guests. The rich and powerful of the underworld also came out to play, with crime bosses like Lucky Luciano of the Genovese crime family, Dutch Schultz, and Jack 'Legs' Diamond present.

Madden even had a relationship with movie star Mae West, who the actress's friends described as her "hottest affair." Blurring the line between fact and fantasy further, Madden also helped his driver George Raft get to California to become a film star. Raft would go on to play gangsters in several Hollywood films, including 1932's *Scarface*, loosely based on the rise and fall of Al Capone, and the Marilyn Monroe comedy *Some Like It Hot*.

While the Cotton Club continued after the Prohibition era, it relocated to the Midtown theatre district after the Harlem race riot of 1935. Owney Madden left New York City the same year, as he faced renewed police harassment and the Italian Mafia encroached on his territory. He retired to Hot Springs, Arkansas, where he married a postmaster's daughter and died in 1965, at the age of 73.

WAITERS AT THE NEIGHBOURING SMALL'S PARADISE CLUB DANCED THE CHARLESTON ON ROLLERSKATES WHILE SERVING TABLES

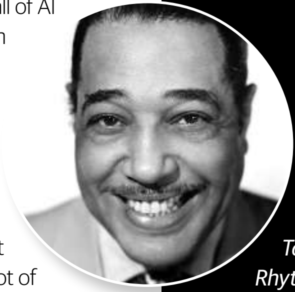
WHILE THE COTTON CLUB WAS THE JEWEL IN HIS CROWN, OWNEY MADDEN OWNED 14 NIGHTCLUBS ACROSS NEW YORK CITY

Walery Paris

Before her big break performing in Paris, a young Joesphine Baker also performed at the Cotton Club

STARS OF THE COTTON CLUB

MANY GREAT ARTISTS PROVIDED THE SPEAKEASY WITH EVENING ENTERTAINMENT



DUKE ELLINGTON

Duke's orchestra was the house band at the Cotton Club from 1927-31. The club's radio broadcasts gave Ellington national exposure, while *Mood Indigo*, *Black and Tan Fantasy*, *Creole Love Call*, and *Rockin' in Rhythm* were among classics first performed by his band during his time there.

CAB CALLOWAY

Calloway and his orchestra performed at the Cotton Club from 1930-34. One of the few non-instrumentalists to front a big band during the swing era, Calloway was a brilliantly inventive scat singer. His biggest hits were about the low-life, drug culture of Harlem, such as *Minnie the Moocher* and *Reefer Man*.

LOUIS ARMSTRONG

Satchmo is better known for performing in Harlem at Connie's Inn, the Cotton Club's biggest rival, owned by the gangster Dutch Schultz. However, Armstrong did blow his horn at the Cotton Club from time to time, as it's where he met his fourth wife, Lucille Wilson, who sang in the club's chorus line.

ETHEL WATERS

This singer and actress performed all over Harlem during the Prohibition years, before bringing down the house at the Cotton Club with her hit *Stormy Weather* during the 1930s. It was one such performance that led Irving Berlin to sign her for *As Thousands Cheer*, her first Broadway triumph, in 1933.

BILL 'BOJANGLES' ROBINSON

This vaudeville star was famous for his fast-footed tap-dancing – especially when going up and down stairs. He performed at the Cotton Club during Calloway's residency, as well as on Broadway, before he became a household name dancing on screen with Shirley Temple in *The Little Colonel*.

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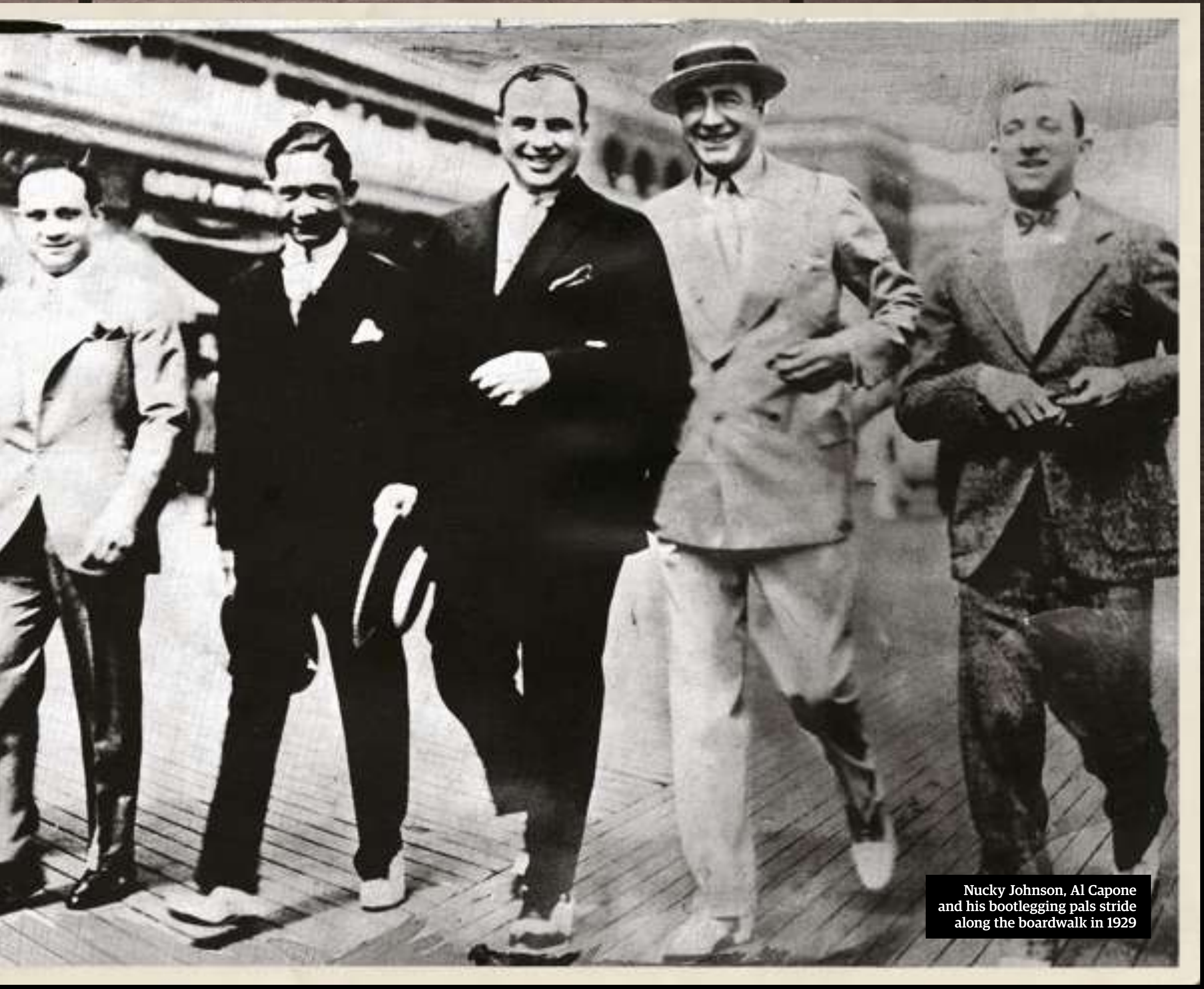
THE REAL BOARDWALK EMPIRE

DISCOVER THE TRUTH BEHIND PROHIBITION-ERA ATLANTIC CITY AND THE TENTACLED BOOTLEGGING NETWORK OF ENOCH 'NUCKY' JOHNSON

The ratification of the 18th Amendment in 1919 banned "The manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States". Though drawn from noble concern over the ills of alcohol abuse, the law enacted more mayhem than morality. The same can be said of the 1914 Harrison Act and the 1924 Heroin Act – making it illegal didn't cure the already-dependent, nor did it alter the age-old truism of supply and demand. So, while liquor poured into partygoers' cups, opiates flowed through addicts' veins, the bootleggers and dope peddlers would pour over endless piles of cash.

Fade to Red

Placing their hands against the back interior wall of the SMC Cartage garage in Chicago's North Side, seven men followed the orders of who they thought were gun-wielding uniformed and plainclothes police. Seconds later, they all felt the sting of .45 caliber rounds and 12 gauge shell fragments piercing their bodies. The only survivor of the 1929 St Valentine's Day Massacre was a German shepherd named Highball. Investigators didn't really need the testimony of witnesses per se; it was very apparent who was behind the violence. The gruesome messes of dead and near-dead (one died in the hospital) victims were all members of – or associated with – the Bugs Moran North Side Gang, arch rivals of Al Capone's Outfit. Gang warfare had been common in Chicago, but this was different. Scarface earned himself publicity alright, to the dismay of every newspaper-reading member of society. Capone's peers were even more horrified and thus shared law enforcements' sentiment – something had to be done. That 'something' would eventually involve a Boardwalk bigwig.



Nucky Johnson, Al Capone and his bootlegging pals stride along the boardwalk in 1929

Fade to Black

On 9 December 1968, after battling numerous ailments, the 85-year-old former undisputed 'Boss' of Atlantic City passed away quietly in a New Jersey convalescent home. Enoch 'Nucky' Johnson lived a long and melodramatic life. He endured the heartache of losing his first wife at a very young age, climbed the career ladder in record time, earned praise and courted controversy at every step of his journey. The bold and rebellious façade gave way to secrets beneath surface, landing him in Federal prison for a few years. After his release in 1945, Nucky was no longer a headline story.

His death made the news of course, stirring up media recollections of a controversial history that extended back to the heyday of unabashed prohibition rebuking and political omnipotence. Then, like most sensationalised stories of the day, his name and legend again faded out of public interest. That is until a critically-acclaimed television series premiered in 2010.

Boss of the Boardwalk Underbelly

Sinister parts of history tend to make the best subjects for everything from factual studies to embellished folklore, not to mention irresistible entertainment it provides in books, film and television – the forums most freely blurring the lines between credible and questionable. Such is the case with HBO's premier of original series *Boardwalk Empire*. It became a categorical and instantaneous hit, packed with all the perfect ingredients of entertainment success – drama, violence, sex, plus an amazing cast of characters and settings. *Boardwalk Empire* reincarnated the legendary tales of Prohibition lawlessness, political opulence and rekindled interest in the fascinating prolific figureheads of the era.

Inspired by the real life extravagance, spectacle and exploits of Atlantic City political juggernaut Enoch Johnson, the series took viewers through the time of flappers, spats, speakeasies, and beyond, underscored by side stories and characters that were also derived from some real events/people (Al Capone one of the more prominent).

The real life Nucky Johnson secured a multitude of job descriptions over his career climb, most notably going from sheriff to GOP boss to chief of everything in the town. Throughout his ascension, he irritated the entire Democratic Party, and a few Republicans who didn't conform to the Nucky way. He was a dichotomy; malefactor-friendly, extravagant, loud and shady, yet also the one guy who anyone could go to when times were tough, ask for help and he would give. That power and influence made things run pretty smoothly in his little corner of the world, but not without very resilient detractors who sought to put him out of business. Besides snubbing legal guidelines and naysayers in general, Nucky Johnson minced no words in his disregard for certain rules. "We have whiskey, wine, women, song and slot machines," Johnson was once quoted. "I won't deny it and I won't apologise for it."

THE MEN AT THE TABLE

Did these East Coast crime kings talk business on the boardwalk?

Frank Costello

ROLE • AMBASSADOR
GANG • NEW YORK FACTION

The 'diplomatic' mobster, preferring the use of cash and favours over violence. In a 1974 biography, written Costello's longtime attorney George Wolf, the Atlantic City board meeting was Frank's idea. "What we all need is a vacation in Atlantic City," said Costello to Meyer Lansky. Wolf's depiction of his client's part was certainly plausible, but others argue Lansky may have been the real 'idea' man.

Meyer Lansky

ROLE • THE BRAINS
GANG • NEW YORK FACTION

Lansky's mind and Bugsy Siegel's brawn took them from thieves to bootleggers to being top dogs in the fledgling mob syndicate. As Luciano's business confidante, the 'Little Man' kept money issues in order. It was alleged Lansky took his honeymoon in Atlantic City so he could attend the 1929 Conference of crime lords.

Charles 'Lucky' Luciano

ROLE • FACE OF ORGANIZED CRIME
GANG • NEW YORK FACTION

Amid the fact versus folklore of Atlantic City's giant crime meeting, Lucky has been one of the most frequently mentioned 'usual suspects' besides Al Capone. Although Lucky could never have accomplished so much without the help of virtually every other big-name bad boy of the era on his side, credit where credit is due – he certainly became the timeless image of post-prohibition American gangsters.

Johnny Torrio

ROLE • PUPPET MASTER
GANG • CHICAGO/NEW YORK FACTION

Torrio mentored Capone in Chicago, retreated to Italy and then retired back to New York City in 1931. He was probably the real force behind bootlegging coalitions and ideally would have been the real arbitrator or CEO of the so-called Atlantic City Conference. His ties ran deep with Lucky Luciano and the entire East Coast mob syndicate.

Benjamin 'Bugsy' Siegel

ROLE • THE BADASS
GANG • NEW YORK FACTION

Dapper, respected and feared since his rough-and-tumble youth in the Bug and Meyer mob. His role during prohibition was firmly alongside childhood pals Meyer Lansky and Lucky Luciano; definitely a 'boss' in the fledgling National Syndicate. Some legendary tales say Bugsy was present in Atlantic City for the big convention, and if there was such a large representation – indeed he would likely have been there.

Joe Adonis

ROLE • UNKNOWN
GANG • NEW YORK FACTION/BROOKLYN

Adonis seemed to be everywhere, and his hands in every illicit cookie jar. Some believe he was directly involved in the Atlantic City Conference because of his reign over the shipping docks in Brooklyn (with Albert Anastasia) and close association with Frank Costello and Lucky Luciano.

Abner 'Longy' Zwillman

ROLE • JERSEY'S CAPONE
GANG • NEW JERSEY FACTION

As one of the most powerful individuals in the bootlegging business (dope too), Longy was another of the commonly mentioned attendees. If a summit of gangsters had taken place in Atlantic City, Zwillman would have absolutely been seated at the table.

Harry 'Nig' Rosen

ROLE • QUAKER SYNDICATE BOSS
GANG • PHILADELPHIA FACTION

From Russia to New York to finally setting up a racketeering base in Philly, Harry Stromberg, aka Nig Rosen, worked closely with guys like Meyer Lansky and Louis 'Lepke' Buchalter in bootlegging and narcotics. He was an alleged attendee at the 1929 conference.

Enoch 'Nucky' Johnson

ROLE • POLITICAL BOSS
GANG • ATLANTIC CITY

Johnson was the go-to guy for virtually everything in Atlantic City during the Twenties and Thirties. Most recognised as the force behind Republican politics in the city, he was also boss of numerous businesses, law enforcement, banks, clubs, and even sports teams. Therefore, if the mob needed something facilitated in Nucky's world, well, Nucky would get it done. He was not a bootlegger; he made profit from those that were. New Jersey's illicit imports were more likely controlled by Abner 'Longy' Zwillman.

Alphonse 'Scarface' Capone

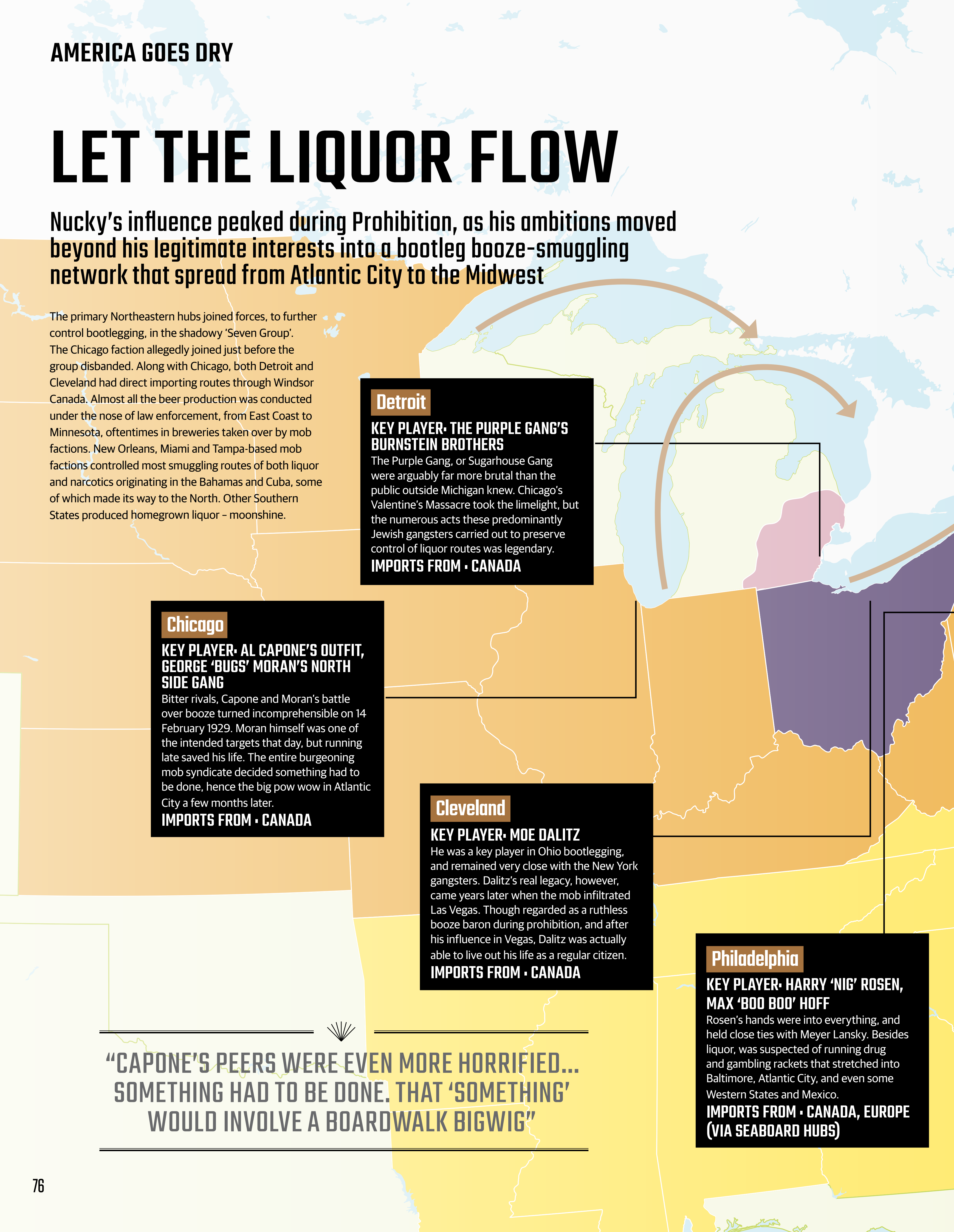
ROLE• PUBLICITY NIGHTMARE
MOB• CHICAGO FACTION

Oh that Al... they liked him, but what a troublemaker he was for the underworld as a whole. The sensational Valentine's Day Massacre brought much heat upon gangsterdom and something definitely needed done about the problem with Al's war in Chicago with rival Bugs Moran's gang. If anything about Boardwalk Empire the show, Boardwalk Empire the reality or a historic mob conference was true – it's that Capone needed reining in and decisions were made to soften subsequent blow organised crime took from bootlegging battles not just in Chicago but anywhere.

LET THE LIQUOR FLOW

Nucky's influence peaked during Prohibition, as his ambitions moved beyond his legitimate interests into a bootleg booze-smuggling network that spread from Atlantic City to the Midwest

The primary Northeastern hubs joined forces, to further control bootlegging, in the shadowy 'Seven Group'. The Chicago faction allegedly joined just before the group disbanded. Along with Chicago, both Detroit and Cleveland had direct importing routes through Windsor Canada. Almost all the beer production was conducted under the nose of law enforcement, from East Coast to Minnesota, oftentimes in breweries taken over by mob factions. New Orleans, Miami and Tampa-based mob factions controlled most smuggling routes of both liquor and narcotics originating in the Bahamas and Cuba, some of which made its way to the North. Other Southern States produced homegrown liquor – moonshine.



Detroit

KEY PLAYER: THE PURPLE GANG'S BURNSTEIN BROTHERS

The Purple Gang, or Sugarhouse Gang were arguably far more brutal than the public outside Michigan knew. Chicago's Valentine's Massacre took the limelight, but the numerous acts these predominantly Jewish gangsters carried out to preserve control of liquor routes was legendary.

IMPORTS FROM: CANADA

Chicago

KEY PLAYER: AL CAPONE'S OUTFIT, GEORGE 'BUGS' MORAN'S NORTH SIDE GANG

Bitter rivals, Capone and Moran's battle over booze turned incomprehensible on 14 February 1929. Moran himself was one of the intended targets that day, but running late saved his life. The entire burgeoning mob syndicate decided something had to be done, hence the big pow wow in Atlantic City a few months later.

IMPORTS FROM: CANADA

Cleveland

KEY PLAYER: MOE DALITZ

He was a key player in Ohio bootlegging, and remained very close with the New York gangsters. Dalitz's real legacy, however, came years later when the mob infiltrated Las Vegas. Though regarded as a ruthless booze baron during prohibition, and after his influence in Vegas, Dalitz was actually able to live out his life as a regular citizen.

IMPORTS FROM: CANADA

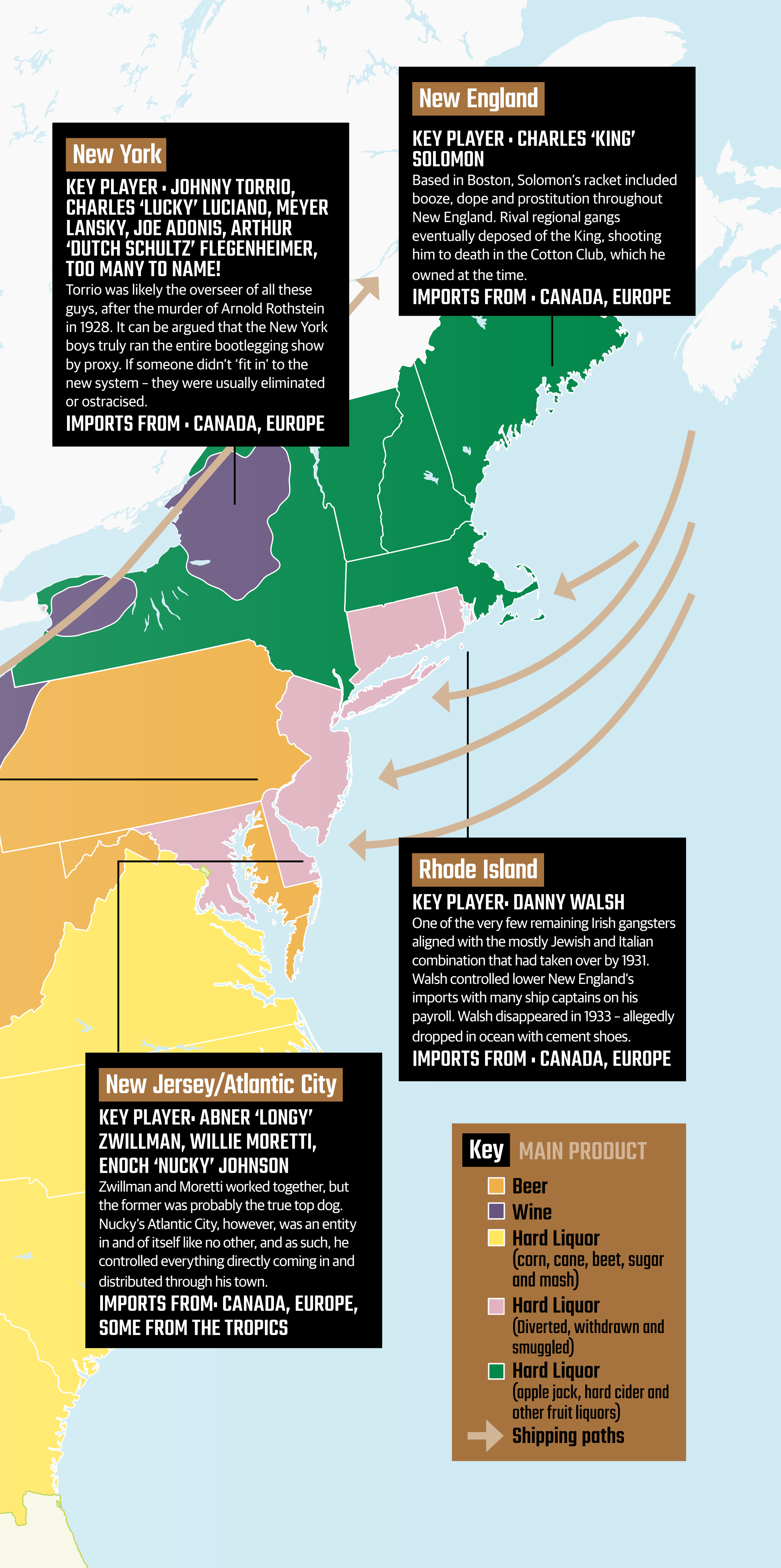
Philadelphia

KEY PLAYER: HARRY 'NIG' ROSEN, MAX 'BOO BOO' HOFF

Rosen's hands were into everything, and held close ties with Meyer Lansky. Besides liquor, was suspected of running drug and gambling rackets that stretched into Baltimore, Atlantic City, and even some Western States and Mexico.

IMPORTS FROM: CANADA, EUROPE (VIA SEABOARD HUBS)

> "CAPONE'S PEERS WERE EVEN MORE HORRIFIED… SOMETHING HAD TO BE DONE. THAT 'SOMETHING' WOULD INVOLVE A BOARDWALK BIGWIG"



New York

KEY PLAYER • JOHNNY TORRIO, CHARLES 'LUCKY' LUCIANO, MEYER LANSKY, JOE ADONIS, ARTHUR 'DUTCH SCHULTZ' FLEGENHEIMER, TOO MANY TO NAME!

Torrio was likely the overseer of all these guys, after the murder of Arnold Rothstein in 1928. It can be argued that the New York boys truly ran the entire bootlegging show by proxy. If someone didn't 'fit in' to the new system – they were usually eliminated or ostracised.

IMPORTS FROM • CANADA, EUROPE

New England

KEY PLAYER • CHARLES 'KING' SOLOMON

Based in Boston, Solomon's racket included booze, dope and prostitution throughout New England. Rival regional gangs eventually deposed of the King, shooting him to death in the Cotton Club, which he owned at the time.

IMPORTS FROM • CANADA, EUROPE

Rhode Island

KEY PLAYER• DANNY WALSH

One of the very few remaining Irish gangsters aligned with the mostly Jewish and Italian combination that had taken over by 1931. Walsh controlled lower New England's imports with many ship captains on his payroll. Walsh disappeared in 1933 – allegedly dropped in ocean with cement shoes.

IMPORTS FROM • CANADA, EUROPE

New Jersey/Atlantic City

KEY PLAYER• ABNER 'LONGY' ZWILLMAN, WILLIE MORETTI, ENOCH 'NUCKY' JOHNSON

Zwillman and Moretti worked together, but the former was probably the true top dog. Nucky's Atlantic City, however, was an entity in and of itself like no other, and as such, he controlled everything directly coming in and distributed through his town.

IMPORTS FROM• CANADA, EUROPE, SOME FROM THE TROPICS

Key MAIN PRODUCT

🟧 **Beer**

🟪 **Wine**

🟨 **Hard Liquor** (corn, cane, beet, sugar and mash)

▨ **Hard Liquor** (Diverted, withdrawn and smuggled)

🟩 **Hard Liquor** (apple jack, hard cider and other fruit liquors)

➡ **Shipping paths**

Reel vs Real

Creative license is an expected and normal aspect of entertainment as an industry, but the question of historical accuracy will always be raised at some point. What's more, the story of Atlantic City's role during the grand drama of Twenties crime and politics is difficult to pinpoint and verify in historical context, let alone Hollywood interpretations.

Nevertheless, between the real-life Johnson and the television version (Thompson), there is a mix of both subtle and obvious similarities that can be identified. They were each recognisable figures in the political arena, who wielded power that earned as many friends as it did enemies. Both lived lavishly, occupying entire floors in expensive hotels, staffed with waiters, maids and bodyguards. And finally, both were in cahoots with America's most infamous crime lords from up and down the Eastern seaboard. Nucky was a dealmaker, intermediary, polarising figure and string-puller like the television equivalent. Oh, and the red carnation – yes, both always decorated the lapel with one.

Over the show's five-season run however, parallels and historical truth deteriorate on a few major points. Johnson – the real Nucky – was a big man with an equally booming voice. Thompson – the character – was thin and generally soft-spoken. Also, unlike his fictional counterpart, Nucky likely never 'ordered' anyone be whacked, and his interaction with America's biggest bad guys was neither frequent nor as climactic. His actual involvement with infamous villains like Al Capone, Lucky Luciano and Arnold Rothstein was probably of a more centralised, limited or an 'emergency only' basis. Characters modelled after real-life gangsters were also dramatised versions and therefore a considerable portion of their respective actions and chronologies within the storyline are not necessarily historically accurate.

Scott Deitche, an expert on Tampa's organised crime history and author of *Cocktail Noir*, makes an important point regarding the show's latter season, whereby storylines extended beyond Atlantic City. "Tampa being a major port of entry for rum and the raw materials to distill rum was accurate," he confirms, but adds, "Though the real Nucky Johnson was never reported to have come to Tampa." Deitche also says he had to opportunity to ask one of the show's writers why certain historical figures were not introduced in the show, particularly Charlie Wall – a prominent Florida gangster of the era. "If they had too many true historical characters," says Deitche of the explanation he was given, "it would limit the fictional arc of the story. Understandable explanation."

Gangsters Gone Wild

Nucky's world was fuelled by the almighty dollar, supply and demand. Through the Twenties and Thirties people flocked to his grand city by the sea to spend their money on the vice he made accessible. Despite the apparent societal disregard for Prohibition there were certainly hardcore proponents of the new amendment, and those who wanted the law to at least be given a chance. Of the latter conviction, 24 businessmen – Henry Ford and Thomas Edison among them – signed an open letter to the American people in 1929.

"Our whole system of self-government will crumble either if they elect what laws they will enforce or citizens elect what laws they will obey. There would be little traffic in illegal liquor if only criminals patronised it. We must awake to the fact that this patronage from large number of law-abiding citizens is supplying the rewards and stimulating crime. We believe that prohibition should be given an honest trial…"

The message clearly tried playing the decency card. The attempt fell flat, but they were correct in the 'stimulating crime' part. Liquor wasn't the root of all evil, money was, and, oh, did those villains and outlaws fight for the cash. Robbery of shipments, murder of competitors, disorganised shipping lanes and even dangerously distilled bad batches of illicit consumables were issues plaguing the entire racket. Bloodshed, infighting and territorial disagreements between criminal competitors obviously came to a head on Valentine's Day 1929. The Chicago vexation was, however, only one of many underworld atrocities related to gang warfare. This totality of violence was a nationwide problem that forced all the major mob bosses to quickly undertake some damage-control actions. Worse yet, for the outlaw entities at least – the incident fully commanded the unwavering resolve of law enforcement. It was simply bad for business, period. Here's where Enoch 'Nucky' Johnson and Al Capone crossed paths, or so the legend says.

Boardwalk of Directors

In light of the highly compromising and immediate situation the Valentine's Massacre put virtually every American outlaw in, plans to solve the problem were initiated quickly. Reputation, micromanagement and prime geographic location made Nucky Johnson a prominent figure in 20th century political theatre and ostensibly within gangland circles. Furthermore, because Atlantic City under his control had an 'anything goes' policy, it appears Johnson was the logical go-to for providing a safe and welcoming venue where the kingdom of Prohibition crime could commiserate, iron out differences and establish some rules.

From 13-16 May 1929, the overlords of vice rackets converged in Atlantic City. This event went down in history as the first of three major mob conferences held during the 20th century. Some historians consider it to be the most significant of the trio (Havana 1946 and Apalachin 1957 were the others), and probably the largest. The invitees arrived from the Midwest, New England, Philadelphia, New York and possibly from as far as Florida. Jewish and Italian mob bosses, flanked by their trusted entourages of advisors and bodyguards, descended upon the Breakers Hotel. The Anglo management was not having Italians and Jews stay in their illustrious establishment, which caused a chaotic situation in the lobby. Oddly, Nucky's influence had little effect on the hotel's ethnic prejudice and he was forced to relocate the ensemble cast to the President's Hotel instead. Once all settled in, the gang got down to business in the board room, made a treaty and enjoyed numerous 'amenities' Johnson's unconventional city had to offer. Or so the story goes.

Subterfuge

Was the event a success? Qualitatively speaking, there were a few achievements thought to have been direct or indirect results of the three-day mob gathering. The first and most pressing went into action immediately at the summit's conclusion. Capone and his bodyguard quickly traveled to Philadelphia, where they literally made themselves 'available' for apprehension. According to the plan methodically designed and ratified by the board of bad guys, Capone and Frank Cline (aka Rio), each carrying concealed handguns, would get arrested and charged for the weapon, serve a little jail stint and hopefully everything relating to the massacre would cool off. Philly police were understandably a bit suspicious by the ease of the arrest and co-operation of such a celebrity wiseguy. While in custody, Capone even went so far as divulging a bit of detail pertaining to his stay in Atlantic City. He casually mentioned to the public safety director, LB Schofield, how he'd been at the President's Hotel discussing a Peace Pact with other racketeers. Schofield, whose curiosity was instantly piqued, asked Capone to elaborate.

"Signed on the dotted line," Capone relayed. "It was with the idea in mind of making peace among the gangsters in Chicago that I spent a week in Atlantic City and got the word of each leader that there shall be no more shootings."

To say the entire massacre hype died down after Capone's short prison sentence is perhaps stretching it a bit, but granted – Scarface did as told and underworld heat cooled enough for other major developments in the mob to begin evolving. Prime examples include the formation of the 'Big Seven' aka 'Seven Group', (which is in and of itself a shadowy tale), and thereafter – the almighty 'National Crime Syndicate'. Still, ultimately the biggest outcome had nothing to do with gangland business; this event produced decades of mesmerising storytelling. Capone's 'tell all' moment, vis-à-vis so-called Atlantic City crime summit, began to take on a life of its own, raising more questions for years to come.

Pandora's Box

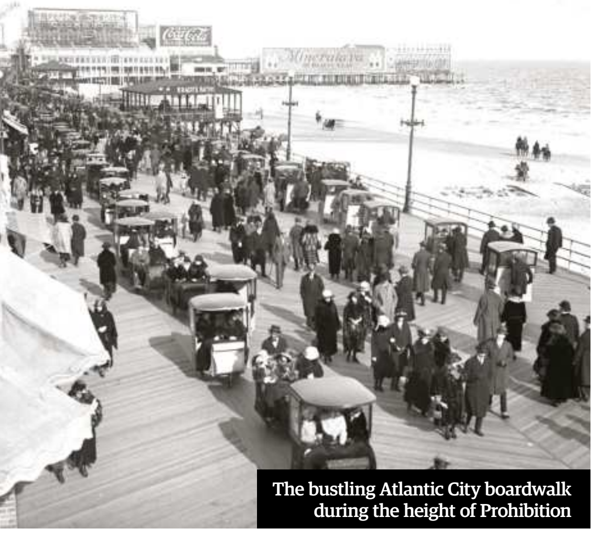
Did any of this really happen? And who were all the pact-signing leaders? It seems not everyone can agree, but a century later and the mythos of Atlantic City's mob fest still stirs up endless conjecture, argument and debate. These are the three prominent theories of what probably did or did not go down in Atlantic City from 13-16 May 1929.

Standing Room Only: Enoch 'Nucky' Johnson hosted all the prominent Midwest and East Coast gangland

A meeting of New York and Chicago mobsters in 1932. from the left: Paul Ricca, Salvatore Agoglia, Lucky Luciano, Meyer Lansky, John Senmna and Harry Brown

Prohibition agents pour liquor down the sewer in the aftermath of a raid at the height of the ban

Bottles and a barrel of confiscated Whiskey, much of which made it down the coast from Canada to Atlantic City



The bustling Atlantic City boardwalk during the height of Prohibition

> “THE SITUATION IN ATLANTIC CITY REQUIRES A SEARCHING INVESTIGATION INTO THE ACTIVITIES OF ENOCH JOHNSON AND OTHERS”
>
> **– UTAH SENATOR WILLIAM H. KING, 1928**

figures for a three-day summit in Atlantic City. The purpose: to work out territorial disputes, importing, payoffs, distribution and deal with the specific problem in Chicago – Capone's Outfit versus Bugs Moran's North Side Gang.

Limited Engagement: Johnson facilitated a meeting of mostly Chicago-based gangsters. The purpose: to settle the problems between Capone's faction and other Midwest bootleggers, Bugs Moran most importantly.

No Show: As a crucial figure in the overall prohibition bootleg game, Johnson likely knew and occasionally met with leaders of organised crime factions, but there simply isn't any verifiable proof of any crime convention being held in Atlantic City in May of 1929.

If you subscribe to the belief that Atlantic City was filled with the nation's top gang bosses, New York gangsters would have filled most of the seats, followed by Chicago, New Jersey, Philadelphia and so forth. The marquee names in attendance included Charles 'Lucky' Luciano, Meyer Lansky, Joe Adonis, Frank Costello, Frank Erickson, 'Dutch' Schultz, Benjamin 'Bugsy' Siegel, Abner 'Longy' Zwillman, Willie Moretti, Al Capone, Charles 'King' Solomon, 'Bugs' Moran, and the man who ultimately pulled the strings – John 'The Fox' Torrio. Alternately, according to the stories run thereafter in the Chicago Tribune – the 'leaders' Capone spoke of were all Chicago-based. The only non-Chicago name ever mentioned was Johnny Torrio (who was technically considered a local gangster at one point in time).

"Yes, they were all there," says Arthur Nash, author of *New York City Gangland* and a collector of rare mob artifacts. "Capone, Luciano, and the rest." He unequivocally believes there's enough evidence in existence to prove it, not the least of which is a family photograph brought to his attention in 2006 by a relative of Ciro 'The Artichoke King' Terranova. The picture, he says, clearly depicts, "Capone, Lucky and Ciro Terranova in their hotel pool together." Nash noted the photo was lost or stolen, but a copy appeared sometime later on an internet message board. The image has since been removed at the behest of the photograph's original owners.

"Some photographer caught me with Al Capone once. From now on I'm being careful," said Enoch 'Nucky' Johnson denying a reporter's request for a picture pose.

Then, of course, there is the iconic *New York Evening Journal* photograph of a smiling entourage, strolling the boardwalk – Capone and Johnson prominently the focal point. This piece of evidence was convincing for both the national meeting theory and the Chicago-only theory. The picture, which ran in 1930, also has its share of skeptics, many of whom question whether the Atlantic City meetup was little more than the product of reporters with an agenda and subsequently overzealous history writers. The dissent stems from the fact that the journal was a William Randolph Heart publication, which notoriously printed anti-Nucky pieces, and the photo was possibly a composite created by the paper. Subscribing to this theory would presumably have to include doubt regarding the validity or Capone's dialog with Philly police. Ultimately though, most historical perspectives favour the belief that something definitely went on in Atlantic City for three days in May 1929, either the national meeting or Chicago-only meeting scenarios.

Taxing Finales

Johnny Torrio, the man many agree was probably more in control of all mob activities than anyone (also probably the 'real' arbitrator during the Atlantic City Convention), was hit the same way his student Al Capone was – tax evasion. Torrio's trial in 1939 revealed much more than just his unreported earnings, the 'Seven Group' and the namedropping of organised crime kingpins who, incidentally, were most of the same roll call thought to have attended the 1929 crime conference. Still, after a flurry of talkative insiders divulged many of the mob's secrets, Torrio remained stoic. He saw the writing on the wall, changed his plea, paid a hefty fine and served a tolerable 23-month prison term. When asked what made him change the plea, he replied, "Mrs Torrio told me to do."

Enoch Johnson had been dogged by the government for years. To the their dismay though, he was able to dodge serious trouble for two decades. Having everyone from bankers to police officers under his control allowed most of his illicit activities to continue without a hitch. Investigators pressed many of Nucky's loyalists until the house of cards began to crumble. All it takes is one to talk and, just like his gangland pals, if the only way to get them is through the tax man, then so be it. Nucky was not going to skate by this time and he knew it. He was convicted in 1941 for failing to pay $125,000 in taxes. The day before sentencing, Johnson wed his showgirl fiancée Florence Osbeck, and proclaimed to guests, "Eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow we may go to jail." A week later he began serving what turned out to be only four years in Leavenworth Federal Penitentiary.

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CRIME & PROHIBITION

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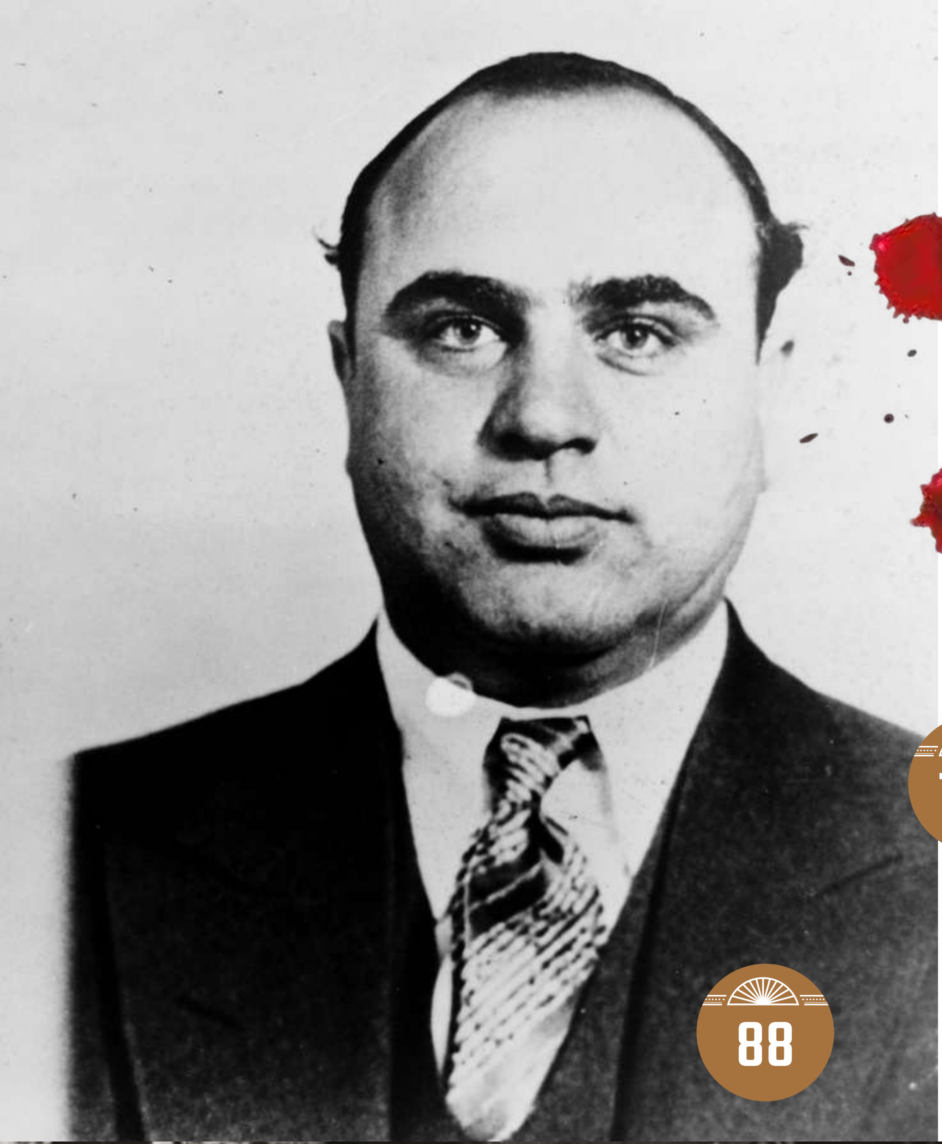
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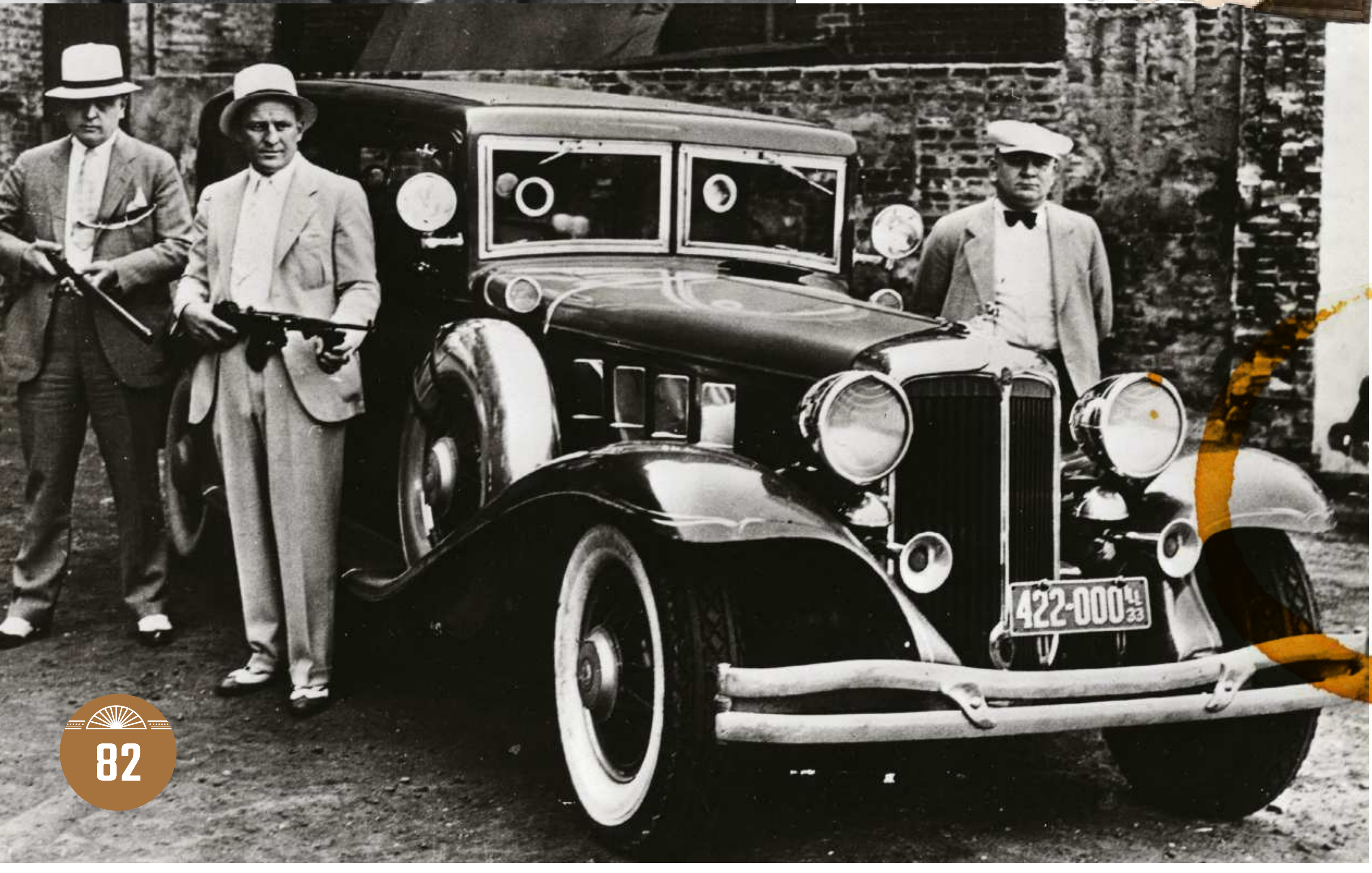
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MENS CELLROOM

Gangsters lined up in a Chicago jail, (from left to right): Mike Bizarro, Joe Aiello, Joe Bubinello, Nick Manzello and Joe Russio

PROHIBITION AND THE CHANGING FACE OF AMERICAN CRIME

PROHIBITION SAW THE EXPANSION OF ORGANISED CRIME ACROSS AMERICA, LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS FOR THE MAFIA AND MODERN-DAY CRIME SYNDICATES

For all the success of the temperance movement in bringing about the 18th Amendment and the Volstead Act – and thereby the outlawing of the manufacture, sale and movement of alcoholic beverages – millions of Americans still wanted to drink beer, wine and hard liquor; on the frontier, it had been a staple part of everyday life. This was a nation of immigrants, with a population of incomers growing all the time, and drinking was part of many European cultures; Irish, Italian, German, Polish to name but a few.

Immigrants often took difficult jobs, working long hours to fuel America's industrial boom, and at the end of a hard day's labour they wanted a drink to help them unwind. The persistent demand for alcohol therefore prompted its illegal production and sale during the Prohibition era, which became known as bootlegging. This sparked the rise of the speakeasies – illegal, clandestine establishments founded specifically for the consumption of potent drinks.

Illegal alcohol production, procurement and distribution expanded into big business and, given the breadth and fiscal potential offered by a new industry that spanned the entire country, it is perhaps no surprise that it was soon seized upon by organised crime gangs. Indeed, the Prohibition era changed the very nature of organised crime across the United States.

Of course, crime was rife in America from the time of the very first settlers; where there are people and laws, there will be always be criminals and underworld activity.

For the organised crime gangs in the pre-Prohibition era, the illegal activities that offered the most lucrative markets revolved around vices like gambling and prostitution as well as the labour market. Here gangs flourished at the expense of smaller operations and the independent crooks who could not match the gangs' logistical organisation or their ready supply of muscle, both of which were absolutely key to running these types of illicit businesses.

Abuse of the labour market provides a prime example. Using their size and influence, the gangs would rustle up plenty of tough, hard men with a penchant for violence, and dispatch them to either form a union or to muscle in on an existing outfit, thereby ensuring control of the labour market in any given area. The classic Marlon Brando film, *On The Waterfront*, deals with this very issue. Once the gang controlled the labour market, they could raise their members' wages and boost their profits through members' fees, as well as via the kickbacks they received from employers who became reliant on their goodwill. With no work force, the employers simply had no business.

In America's second city, Chicago, the gangster Martin 'Skinny' Madden emerged as the first major labour racketeer, and his gang was soon followed by those headed by 'Mossy' Enright and 'Con' Shea. During 1905, a 105-day strike organised by Shea's gang cost the major union International Brotherhood of Teamsters and other Chicago businesses more than $9 million, while at least 21 men died and more than 400 were injured.

It was Prohibition, however, that really boosted organised crime. As Prohibition took hold and many existing vendors complied with the new laws, it was the gangs that stepped into the breach, filling not only their pockets but also those of the men who worked alongside them – corrupt officials, politicians and lawmen. To influence the corruptible, and to raise the finance necessary to fund and control a complex industry like bootlegging, took a certain amount of pre-existing financial liquidity. It also required a sizeable workforce. This is where organised crime thrived; again, the freelancer or low-level crook could never compete with the power of gangland. Well-organised groups soon learned that they could control the full chain of the bootlegging operation, from the hidden distilleries and breweries through to the storage and transport to the retail outlets – speakeasies, restaurants and nightclubs.

Criminal activity had been organised well before Prohibition took hold. The director of the Chicago Crime Commission, Henry B Chamberlain, spotted in 1919 that, "Modern crime, like modern business, is tending towards centralisation, organisation and commercialisation". Yet the skills learned when running vice and gambling proved especially transferable. Any gangs that ran a

"AS PROHIBITION TOOK HOLD AND MANY EXISTING VENDORS COMPLIED WITH THE NEW LAWS, IT WAS THE GANGS THAT STEPPED INTO THE BREACH"

IN 1927, DETROIT'S ILLEGAL LIQUOR BUSINESS WAS THE SECOND LARGEST INDUSTRY AFTER CAR MANUFACTURING

CRIME SELLS: READ ALL ABOUT IT

PROHIBITION AND THE CHANGING FACE OF AMERICAN CRIME COINCIDED WITH THE RISE OF THE TABLOID PRESS

Organised crime had an almost symbiotic relationship with the American press in the early part of the 20th century. Certainly, as the 1920s progressed, the newspapers needed the bootlegging gangsters. Here were dangerous men, synonymous with nightlife and the entertainment industry; they dressed well and gunned one another down whenever their alliances buckled or faded – this was top-notch fodder for the news editors.

BEST FICTION

DAILY NEWS

NEW YORK'S PICTURE NEWSPAPER

HER FINEST PICTURE

PHOTOGRAPHIC STUDY OF MRS. WARREN G. HARDING

The *New York Daily News* was born with Prohibition. It learned to love gangster stories

Their relationship pre-dates Prohibition, of course, as crime has always helped sell newspapers. But they became closely entwined, in Chicago especially, during the Circulations War that ran c.1900-13. In America's second city the likes of Dean O'Banion, Mossy Enright, the McErlane brothers and various members of the Colosimo gang served as hired muscle for dailies like the *Chicago American* and the *Chicago Tribune* as the newspapers quite literally fought to boost their businesses and run down their competitors; as many as 40 people are said to have died in this long-running dispute.

Then, with the advent of Prohibition, came the birth of the tabloid press, beginning with the founding of the *New York Daily News* in 1919. These sensation-hungry outlets sought to build their readership on the piles of bodies that emerged as the detritus of Prohibition and its life alongside organised crime.

The lexicographer Stuart Berg Flexner wrote that, "The newspapers began talking about [the] hiring of torpedoes, trigger men, gorillas and rods, and their use of pineapples and Tommy guns". Certainly, much of Al Capone's infamy grew from his readiness to give the newsmen a quote. When asked about his links with distillers north of the US border, he scoffed, "Canada? I don't even know what street Canada is on".

The gangster Frankie Yale was shot down by a rival gang in a passing car

MURDER ON THE WATER

RUM ROW WITNESSED SOME GRIZZLY EPISODES COURTESY OF ORGANISED CRIME. THE SCUTTLING OF JOHN DWIGHT WAS A CASE IN POINT...

John Dwight was scuttled as it passed 'Rum Lane' near Martha's Vineyard (pictured)

Rum Row along the Atlantic seaboard was a profitable avenue for smugglers during the Prohibition era, with the Florida skipper William McCoy said to be the pioneer of this illicit trade, sailing a schooner loaded with 1,500 cases of liquor from Nassau in the British colony of the Bahamas to Savannah and pocketing $15,000 in profits for his trouble. By the middle of the 1920s, organised crime syndicates were all too aware of the trade's importance and some vicious incidents ensued.

A portent of what was to come arrived in 1923 with the scuttling of the 107-foot steam trawler John Dwight, which was ferrying barrels of Canadian-made ale through 'Rum Lane' near Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts. Hijacked by other bootleggers, or possibly one of the larger organised crime syndicates, the crew suffered a horrible fate. It seems the pirates were after the $100,000 in cash they were carrying for an upcoming purchase.

The bodies of eight crewmen washed into the surf at the hamlet of Menemsha. It must have been a horrible sight. Some of the men had had their eyes burned out and their fingertips burned back by flesh-eating acid. Three had had the skin stripped from their faces. The captain's son was discovered adrift in a dinghy with a fractured skull.

The government responded to the Rum Row business by recruiting 4,000 coastguards who were said to be incorruptible. With a wage of around $36 a month, this was unlikely and the Atlantic seaboard remained a part of America's bootlegging network.

Waterways were a prime route for the gangsters. This bootlegger is dumping his cargo over the side as the federal boat draws near

Actress Jean Harlow dated Longy Zwillman, giving the 1920s gangsters an air of respectability

Marlon Brando film *On The Waterfront* focused on labour racketeering, a favourite pre-Prohibiton business for organised crime

number of brothels or gambling dens knew how to service a broad range of different establishments in varied locations. They knew how to handle large sums of cash and they knew how to protect their interests and hurt their enemies. All of these skills were pivotal to the running of a major bootlegging operation.

Though gangs continued to remain involved in pre-Prohibition criminal activity, bootlegging offered greater rewards and traditional operations like racketeering and gambling became a sideline for many liquor operations. In Chicago, most of the big gangs pulled back on their labour rackets and prostitution; the latter remained taboo for many Chicago citizens. Naturally, this was not always the norm. Though Chicago's North Side gang leader Hymie Weiss eschewed prostitution, Tony Colosimo's infamous gang, and then Capone's, were happy to profit from vice. Still, in 1930, the *Chicago Daily News* estimated that the city's revenues from organised crime totalled $326 million, with more than half ($183 million) coming from bootlegging, breaking down as $103 million from beer, $56 million from hard liquor and $23 million from pure alcohol.

Many historians consider Chicago the epicentre of bootlegging during the Prohibition era. In April 1926, another major newspaper, the *Chicago Tribune*, estimated the illegal sale of alcoholic beverages as $3.6 billion nationwide, with a $200 million figure for the Windy City, ranking at 5.6 per cent of the total. Prohibition enforcers (according to the same newspaper) designated the western Chicago suburb of Cicero 'the wettest spot in the United States.' Certainly, the city's central position and its proximity to Canada, courtesy of the enormous Lake Michigan, made it the ideal place to locate a bootlegging empire. As profits increased, so did the gangs' bids to expand their territories. Gradually, outfits in different cities began to cooperate with each other.

DETROIT'S GANGSTERS BECAME SO POWERFUL THAT PRESIDENT HOOVER CONSIDERED SENDING IN THE ARMY TO CHECK THEIR POWER

The key was transportation. This is what marked out the liquor business from the more established arenas of organised criminality. It would make the bootleggers'

An alcohol smuggler is shot dead by a member of a rival gang in New York City, 1929

Al Capone stands as the best-remembered gangster of all time, rising to prominence in the Prohibition era

businesses pan-regional. Once they had acquired transport they would then build confederacies. Chicago's Canadian whiskey came through Detroit's Purple Gang, who had direct access to America's northern neighbour. In Cleveland, the mobster Moe Dalitz used aircraft and boats to carry liquor across Lake Erie before distributing his product through associates in Ohio and Pennsylvania. He also formed ties with Meyer Lansky in New York. Lansky had started out peddling booze from his car and truck rental business based beneath the Williamsburg Bridge.

THE PROFITS DURING PROHIBITION WERE SO GREAT, GANGSTER FRANKIE YALE WENT TO HIS GRAVE IN A $15,000 SILVER COFFIN

These alliances, though difficult to manage, became of paramount importance to the big liquor peddlers and they began promoting conferences in a bid to keep the peace. One such meeting saw gangsters from Newark, New York, Chicago, Cleveland and Philadelphia get together at the Hotel President in Atlantic City, where they delineated boundaries and granted territorial exclusivity. As author and Prohibition expert Daniel Okrent notes, "This sort of arrangement would harden into formal partnerships," and he cites the cartel formed between Lansky, fellow New Yorker Lucky Luciano, Newark's Longy Zwillman, Charles 'King' Solomon of Boston and Daniel Walsh of Providence, who would control the entire illegal booze trade from Boston to Philadelphia. Chicago's John Torrio helped broker the deal and was richly rewarded with a grant of 5,000 cases of liquor each month.

The mobsters' armies were filled by tough-nuts, many of whom had received weapons training while serving with General Pershing's American Expeditionary Force during World War I, and the gangs operated with near-

"THE AMERICAN MAFIA CRIME SYNDICATE WAS BORN FROM THE COORDINATED ACTIVITIES OF ITALIAN BOOTLEGGERS IN NEW YORK CITY IN THE LATE 1920s AND EARLY 1930s" military precision. An army-like hierarchy was formed and loyalty was expected, as it was with regular soldiers. This was ensured, in many cases, by promoting through family ties, with brothers, brothers-in-law and cousins all collecting around the gangland boss. According to John Binder, author of *Al Capone's Beer Wars*, "the Italian-dominated bootlegging gangs were more focused, if not more professional, than their counterparts".

Certainly, the rise of the bootlegging gangsters was swift. As early as 1923, the *New York Times* wrote of the new-style gangster, claiming, "He shoots from ambush, and preferably at backs," while in the following year Vermont senator Frank L Greene was badly hurt when caught in a crossfire between bootleggers and Prohibition agents just a few blocks from the Capitol.

A string of famous names rose to prominence through the Prohibition era and the American Mafia crime syndicate – the most famous of all gangsters – was born from the coordinated activities of Italian bootleggers in New York City in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Indeed, for all their illicit behaviour and the machine-gun violence that formed the soundtrack to their lives, the gangsters emerged with a peculiar respectability, formed partly from their involvement in city nightlife and their links to the entertainment industry. Longy Zwillman dated Hollywood doyenne Jean Harlow, while the ruthless Owney Madden romanced Mae West.

“PROHIBITION HAD MOBILISED ORGANISED CRIME ON A SCALE NEVER SEEN BEFORE“

ADAMS EXPRESS COMPA

The authorities were fighting a losing battle as they tried to keep crime under control during Prohibition

The rising number of tabloid newspapers, meanwhile, sensationalised the mobsters' lives in a bid to drive sales (see boxout), and Hollywood heavyweights Howard Hughes (producer) and Howard Hawks (producer and director) released *Scarface*, loosely based on the life of Al Capone, in 1932, adding more glamour to the gangster life. Prior to Prohibition, gang bosses had operated on the periphery of society, moving in the shadows away from America's apple pie sensibilities. Not so the new breed. After all, as the historian Mark H Haller writes, the bootleggers, though criminals, "had customers, not victims". Pimps and brothel owners often used force against the women who worked for them, while gamblers and labour racketeers took huge cuts of their customers' cash. When providing illegal alcohol, however, the bootleggers were simply charging their customers what they were prepared to pay.

THE YOUTH OF PROHIBITION'S CRIME LORDS IS HIGHLIGHTED BY CAPONE, WHO WAS IN HIS EARLY 20S WHEN HE TOOK OVER CHICAGO

The gangsters weren't the only people to profit from bootlegging. The very men recruited to police these crooks were also taking in huge sums as bribes. Lawman Pat Roche said in the *Chicago Tribune* that, "A one-legged Prohibition agent riding a bicycle could dry up the Loop [a once-notorious area in Chicago] in half a day, providing he were honest". That may well have been true. But dishonesty paid a whole lot better.

Corruption had long been a problem in America, but during Prohibition it took on an industrial stature. The extent of corruption linked to bootlegging was revealed by a Chief Morris who said, "Reports and rumours reaching me indicate that 50 per cent of the men on the Chicago police force are involved seriously in the illegal sale or transportation of liquor". The US Attorney for North Illinois, meanwhile, reckoned the size of the kickback industry in 1926 stood at $30 million per annum. The early Prohibition directors for New York and Pennsylvania, a judge and a state senator, were under indictment for corruption within a year of taking office.

Daniel Okrent records how at the very moment former Congressman Joshua E Russell, the Prohibition director for Ohio, was extolling the virtues of lawfulness to an audience at Sidney Baptist Church, his cronies were diverting almost 22,500 gallons of alcohol from a distillery in the town of Troy.

Though the corrupt lawmakers and enforcers could help the gangsters in any number of ways, the mobs could not rely on the civil authorities to settle internecine disputes.

"When there's competition there's bound to be little tiffs," said Rocco Fanelli, one of Al Capone's toughs. "The cleanest way out of them is with a gun. We do not have them for ornaments". He was right. During a three-year period in Chicago there were 215 mob killings. The Thompson submachine gun earned the nickname of 'the Chicago Typewriter', courtesy of its clattering voice.

Gangland violence during the 1920s expanded to record levels. Some historians believe that Hollywood and the popular imagination have fuelled the story – who hasn't heard of the St Valentine's Day Massacre? But the evidence is there. As Okrent points out, "Epidemic violence in the 1920s... did increase by quite a bit," citing figures of slightly fewer than 12 murders or assaults per 100,000 in 1920 to 16 by Prohibition's final year, 1933. It had then fallen to fewer than 10 by 1940. "From the assassination of Dean O'Banion in his Chicago flower shop in 1924 through [to] the St Valentine's Day Massacre five years later," Okrent writes, "the most famous killings of the era were ignited by alcohol."

Men like Al Capone, Lucky Luciano, Frank Costello and Meyer Lansky built their empires during Prohibition, washing to prominence on a wave of illegal booze. Once alcohol Prohibition was repealed, the gangsters were not going away. Oh no. Prohibition had mobilised organised crime on a scale never seen before and with the rise of the big syndicates, the transnational scourge was going to blossom even further. Plenty of gangsters invested in legalised alcohol businesses but many more returned to the lucrative vice rackets of prostitution and gambling, as well as drug trafficking and labour racketeering, using their new-found organisational skills and nous to become more powerful than ever before.

B92168
JUNE, 1936
Charles Luciano, FBI 62920.

An FBI shot of Lucky Luciano, one of America's most feared organised crime bosses

Arguably the most famous gangster of them all, Al Capone ran an underworld empire in the city of Chicago during Prohibition

PROHIBITION AND THE MOB

PROHIBITION PROVIDED EXTRAORDINARY OPPORTUNITIES FOR AMERICAN GANGSTERS TO PROFIT FROM THE ILLEGAL BOOTLEGGING TRADE IN BANNED ALCOHOL AND EMPOWERED THE CRIMINAL ORGANISATION KNOWN AS 'THE MOB'

Prohibition played a crucial role in the rise of the American gangster. There were certainly gangsters in America before Prohibition, and there would be gangsters after it was repealed. But the banning of alcohol gave underworld criminals a lucrative product to sell that many were willing to pay a high price for and break the law to get.

That alcoholic beverages could be banned in America must at first glance seem surprising, even shocking. Americans had a long history of alcohol consumption and had enthusiastically produced their own spirits, such as rum and whiskey. But for a long time there had been voices who had spoken against alcohol, or at least too much of it. One famed Puritan preacher from early American history, Increase Mather, proclaimed; "Wine is from God, but the drunkard is from the devil."

Social factors also gave impetus to the drive for reform. In the late 19th century, the United States had been transformed into an industrial, urban nation. Millions of Americans had migrated from their farms to the cities to find work in factories. The introduction of rural America to the often unwholesome conditions of city life was an uneasy one. Many Americans fresh from the country blamed urban ills on alcohol.

Another disquieting aspect of the cities to the minds of rural folk was the presence of many millions of 'alien' immigrants from non-English-speaking nations. The late 19th and

early 20th centuries were the heyday of immigration from Eastern and Southern Europe. Many of these immigrants came from countries where alcohol was not only drunk, but embedded in the national culture. Many were also Catholic and this was a source of suspicion for the more established Protestant Americans. The temperance movement was itself largely Protestant in its support.

The advent of World War I also had a powerful impact on energising the move for Prohibition. Most breweries in the country were owned by German-Americans. Once the United States entered the war against Germany, alcohol could be tarnished by its association with the enemy, making it seem unpatriotic.

Politically, the Prohibition movement gained strength in the early 20th century, with the Anti-Saloon League exemplifying its growing power and confidence. A Prohibition constitutional amendment bill was brought before the US Senate for a vote in July 1917. It was approved, and the House of Representatives did the same in December. For it to become enacted law, it would have to be ratified by at least three-quarters of the then 48 states. In just 13 months, 36 states had ratified the proposal, which went into effect as the 18th Amendment in 1920.

Prohibition's advocates had won the long battle fought against massive odds over many decades. The 18th Amendment would bear bitter fruit, however. A terrible menace, one worse than the problems caused by the consumption of alcohol, would soon arise, fuelled by the insatiable thirst for the liquor that, even though now illicit, Prohibition could never dispel – the mob.

When liquor had been made illegal, organised criminal gangs stepped in to provide Americans with what they wanted, for a hefty price. The cost to America of this flourishing of organised crime was not merely money. The sheer amount of cash to be made through illegal means was so great that gangs would fight pitched battles over the right to supply liquor.

American cities became the domains of gun-toting, bootlegging gangsters, all striving and killing and dying because they had a product that could not be legislated out of existence. In acknowledgement of the utter failure of Prohibition, in 1933 the 18th Amendment was repealed, 13 years after it had gone into effect, by another amendment, the 21st. By then, however, the damage had been well and truly done. Prohibition meant that the mob had become a force far larger and more powerful than what it had been before.

Arguably the most famous of all Prohibition-era mobsters was Al Capone. He was not alone or even the first in his criminal activities, and he initially had a patron under whom he learned much about the world of organised crime. Capone got his start as an underling in Chicago running brothels on behalf of Johnny Torrio. Torrio had moved to Chicago from New York and had craftily bought up breweries that had been put out of business by Prohibition. Hard liquor was smuggled

THE PURPLE GANG SOLD THE LIQUOR IT STOLE TO LOCAL DETROIT SPEAKEASIES, OF WHICH THERE WERE AROUND 25,000 IN 1925

TOMMY GUN

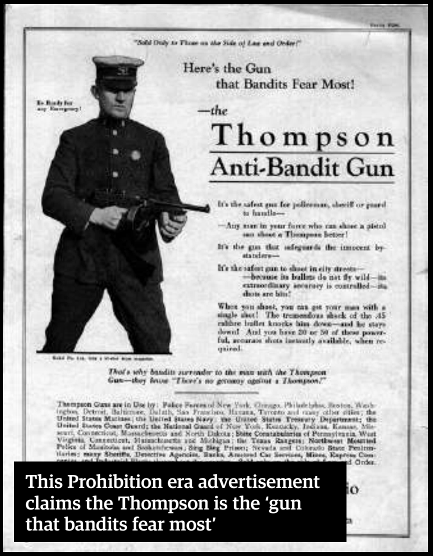
THE THOMPSON SUBMACHINE GUN WAS A SUPERB FIREARM AND BECAME ICONIC AS AN UNDERWORLD WEAPON DURING PROHIBITION

The Thompson submachine gun had its origins in the need for a firearm well-suited for trench fighting. After the US had entered World War I, the full-sized, bolt-action Springfield rifle, otherwise an excellent weapon, was found to be less-than-ideal for close combat. The US Army desired something handier for its troops, with a high rate of fire that could sweep clear an enemy trench.

General John T Thompson came up with the fast-firing submachine gun in response. It spat a chunky .45 ACP cartridge packing an enormous punch that could reliably knock a man down, a big benefit in combat. Dubbed the Thompson submachine gun, it was not ready until 1919, after the war had ended.

The 'Tommy gun', as it was nicknamed, gained notoriety as the signature weapon of the American gangster during the Prohibition years. The Chicago gangsters who used it in their gun battles became known as 'Tommy men.' The Thompson was also called the 'Chicago Piano' due to its association with the mob. It figured prominently in the infamous 1929 St Valentine's Day Massacre. From a mob gunman's point of view, the Tommy gun was close to perfection. Its high rate of fire – 700 rounds per minute – meant it could lay down a curtain of lead. Often, gangsters armed with Thompsons outgunned the police.

As a consequence of its underworld popularity and its appearance in cinematic portrayals of gangsters, the weapon became wedded in the minds of many Americans with organised crime and gangland shootouts. However, during World War II, the Thompson was used to equip US troops and was also supplied in huge numbers to numerous Allied armed forces. The soldiers battling Axis tyranny greatly appreciated the Thompson's remarkable stopping power.



"Sold Only to Those on the Side of Law and Order!"

Here's the Gun that Bandits Fear Most!

—the Thompson Anti-Bandit Gun

Be Ready for any Emergency!

It's the safest gun for policeman, sheriff or guard to handle—

—Any man in your force who can shoot a pistol can shoot a Thompson better!

It's the gun that safeguards the innocent bystanders—

It's the safest gun to shoot in city streets— —because its bullets do not fly wild—its extraordinary accuracy is controlled—its shots are hits!

When you shoot, you can get your man with a single shot! The tremendous shock of the .45 calibre bullet knocks him down—and he stays down! And you have 20 or 50 of these powerful, accurate shots instantly available, when required.

That's why bandits surrender to the man with the Thompson Gun—they know "There's no getaway against a Thompson!"

Thompson Guns are in Use by: Police Forces of New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Washington, Detroit, Baltimore, Duluth, San Francisco, Havana, Toronto and many other cities; the United States Marines; the United States Navy; the United States Treasury Department; the United States Coast Guard; the National Guard of New York, Kentucky, Indiana, Kansas, Missouri, Connecticut, Massachusetts and North Dakota; State Constabularies of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Connecticut, Massachusetts and Michigan; the Texas Rangers; Northwest Mounted Police of Manitoba and Saskatchewan; Sing Sing Prison; Nevada and Colorado State Penitentiaries; many Sheriffs, Detective Agencies, Banks, Armored Car Services, Mines, Express

This Prohibition era advertisement claims the Thompson is the 'gun that bandits fear most'

The Purple Gang of Detroit was notoriously violent and known for hijacking other gangs' shipments of bootleg liquor

> “JUST AS MODERN CORPORATIONS COMPETE FOR MARKET SHARE, SO TOO DID CHICAGO’S GANGSTERS FOR THE UNDERWORLD BUSINESS. THIS WAS OFTEN VIOLENT”

from Canada. These banned substances became part of the attraction of the gambling parlours, bordellos and speakeasies – illegal bars that served alcohol – that Torrio controlled. Since these were all illicit enterprises, protection was bought by paying generous bribes to politicians, judges and police officers.

However, the direst threat to Torrio, who had his crime empire in Chicago’s south, came from other gangsters. Just as modern corporations compete for market share, so too did Chicago’s gangsters for the underworld business. This was often bloodily violent.

Torrio was 17 years Capone’s senior, and quite unlike his brutal young acolyte. He was quiet and exuded a mild aura. He may not have been vicious like Capone, but he was no angel either. He certainly employed other men to do his dirty work when necessary. One major hit authorised by Torrio was the murder of another gangster, Dean O’Banion. O’Banion’s North Side Gang had been hijacking Torrio’s alcohol shipments and also had a hand in getting Torrio arrested for an alcohol-related offence. Since this was Torrio’s second, he could potentially be sent to prison. Torrio, and another gang that had a grievance against O’Banion, the Terrible Gennas, who ran an illicit industrial alcohol production racket, teamed up to have him killed. On 10 November 1924, a trio of men walked into the flower shop that O’Banion ran. When O’Banion extended his hand in greeting, one of the men gripped it and would not let go. His two companions took out handguns and shot O’Banion dead.

It was Torrio’s turn next. Surviving members of the North Side Gang caught up with Torrio three months later and shot him three times. Astonishingly, Torrio survived the assassination attempt but his days as a gangster were over. He decamped for Italy and handed over the reins of his Chicago outfit to his protégé, Al Capone.

After Al Capone, perhaps the most famous gangster to emerge from the Prohibition era was Charles ‘Lucky’ Luciano. Born in a poor village in Sicily in 1897, Luciano was brought to America by his mother in 1906, settling in New York City on Manhattan’s Lower East Side. He was a school dropout at 14 and was soon involved in small-scale criminal activities, including robberies and muggings. From an early age he was an admirer of the local gangsters he saw around him. “[T]hey were rich,” he explained later, “and rich was what counted, because the rich got away with anythin’.”

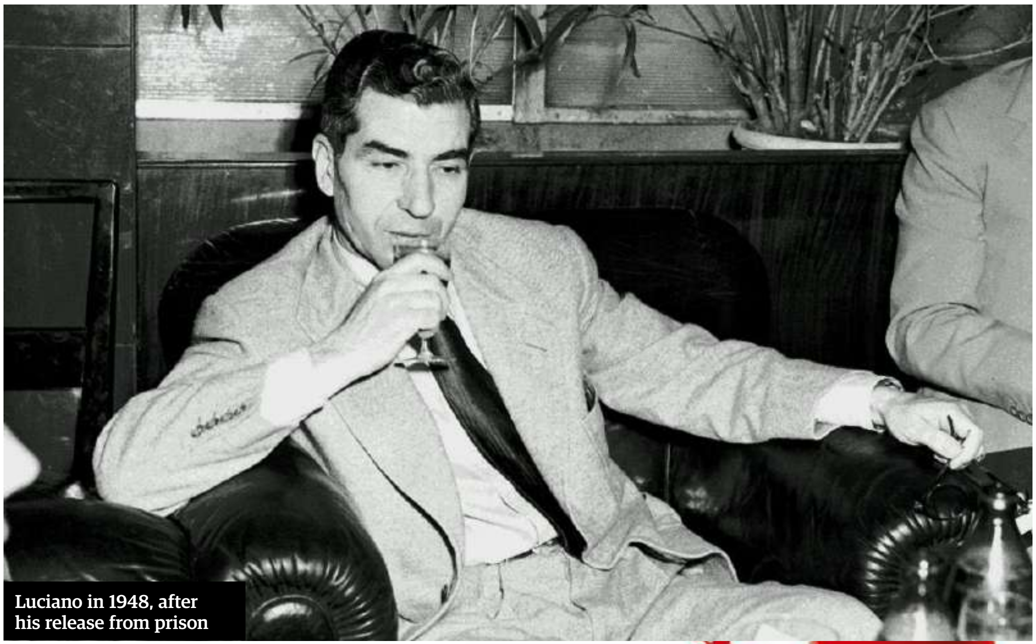
He took up with other young gangsters who would become dark legends in their own right, including Bugsy Siegel, Frank Costello and Meyer Lansky. The enactment of the 18th Amendment would give such ruthless, enterprising criminals unparalleled opportunities to make fortunes. Luciano became a stalwart of the bootlegging business in New York.

CHARLES ‘LUCKY’ LUCIANO’S ORIGINAL NAME, WHICH HE LATER CHANGED AFTER COMING TO AMERICA, WAS SALVATORE LUCANIA

Luciano was very eager to project an image of himself that was markedly different from the older generation of mobsters who were variously called ‘Mustache Petes’ or ‘greaseballs’. He took care to dress well, but not flamboyantly. In his outward appearance he was more akin to a respectable businessman than that of a stereotypical, murderous gangster.

He came to the attention of older mob bosses who were eager to recruit him into their own organisations. In 1927 he joined with Joe ‘the Boss’ Masseria, serving as his right-hand man. In 1929 he was captured by one of Masseria’s bitter enemies, Salvatore Maranzano.

Albert Anastasia was, with Joe Adonis, one of the founding members of Murder, Inc



Luciano in 1948, after his release from prison

‘Big Jim’ Colosimo was a Chicago underworld boss engaged in gambling and prostitution, he was assassinated in 1920 by Johnny Torrio

Maranzano's men worked over Luciano badly, with Luciano taking serious knife cuts to his face. He was left with a permanent droop to his right eye, but Luciano lived. For his unexpected survival, he was dubbed 'Lucky' by fellow gangster Meyer Lansky.

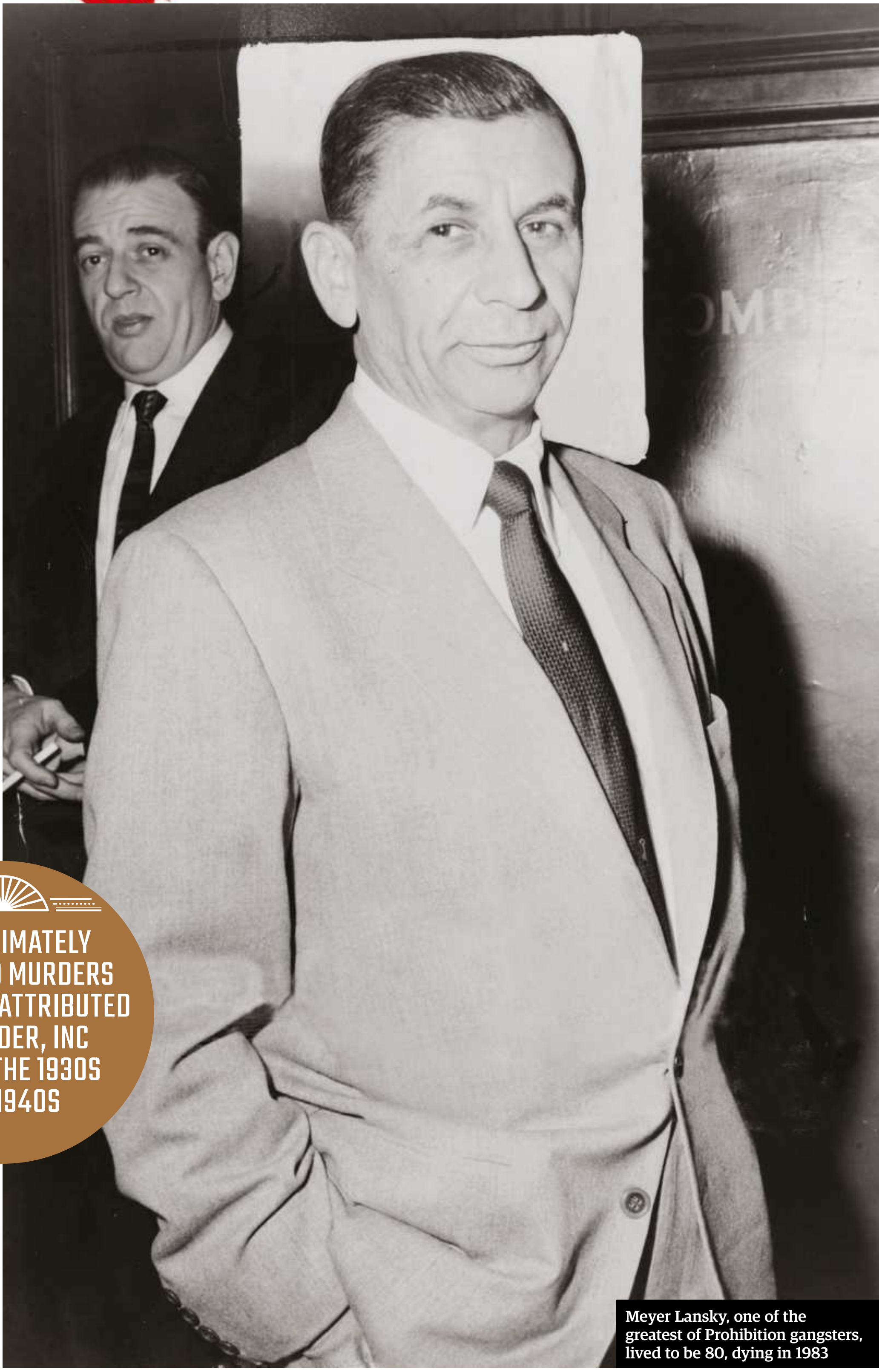
Luciano was repelled by the wasteful fights between gangs that disrupted the otherwise lucrative business of the criminal underworld. He believed that there was enough for everyone and that crime should be run as if it were a legitimate business; efficiently and with as little friction as possible. The feuds of the older generation of mob bosses, such as Masseria and Maranzano, were not at all to his liking. He had especially disliked what the so-called 'Castellammarese War' had done to the underworld business. To Luciano, and other younger mobsters, the older generation was too hidebound, too set in their ways, and too antiquated in their notions of honour to see which way the business of organised crime was heading. He had a hand in the 1931 murder of his old boss, Masseria, and also in the subsequent killing of Maranzano.

Luciano, at the urging of Johnny Torrio, then instituted the Commission in 1931, an umbrella organisation for the mob in which each group, or family, ran its own businesses on their own turf, but the heads of each would meet periodically to manage relations between them. Luciano was adamant that they had to cooperate for the good of all. "I told 'em jealousy was our biggest enemy," said Luciano. "In our kind of business there was so much money to be made that nobody had the right to be jealous of nobody else." In modern business terms, Luciano had organised the criminal syndicates into a cartel that would eliminate needless competition. Luciano was the Commission's first chairman, and the heads of the others families were similar to a corporate board of directors.

Luciano's considerable luck, like that of so many mobsters, would eventually run out. In 1936 he was convicted on prostitution charges. He had built his empire on prostitution as well as bootlegging, and at his trial there came a stream of women from his operation who testified against him. That June he was given a sentence of 30 years in prison. For a man just shy of 40, it was effectively a life sentence.

Luciano's later years were not as dramatic as those of the Prohibition era, but he did still manage to find himself embroiled in events nonetheless, and always made sure to use it to his advantage. Though still in prison in the early 1940s, Luciano dominated the Longshoreman's Union, which included men who worked at the docks. With American entry into World War II, there was a real fear that German saboteurs would hurt port operations. The US Navy requested Luciano ensure that the docks remained secure. In 1946, on account of his aid, his prison sentence was commuted and he was deported to Italy. Though he tried to remain relevant to the organised criminal underworld from various perches outside the United States, his influence declined and he died in Italy in January 1962.

APPROXIMATELY 500-1,000 MURDERS HAVE BEEN ATTRIBUTED TO MURDER, INC DURING THE 1930S AND 1940S



Meyer Lansky, one of the greatest of Prohibition gangsters, lived to be 80, dying in 1983

"THE US NAVY REQUESTED LUCIANO ENSURE THAT THE DOCKS REMAINED SECURE. IN 1946, ON ACCOUNT OF HIS AID, HIS PRISON SENTENCE WAS COMMUTED"

Twelve-year-old Meyer Lansky became friends with an older youth who would later go on to become better known as 'Lucky' Luciano. Lansky and Luciano became associates in New York's early 20th century criminal underworld. Before that, while still a youth, Lansky formed a gang with another young Jewish gangster, Benjamin 'Bugsy' Siegel, called the Bugs and Meyer Gang. Their specialities were gambling and protection rackets. One of the more famous members of their outfit was Dutch Schultz.

Lansky was invited to have his gang, a mixed group of Jews and Italians, work for Arnold Rothstein, one of the most prominent bosses of New York's organised criminal syndicates. Rothstein recognised Lansky's ambition and wanted Lansky's help in moving liquor – doing the actual work of bootlegging.

Rothstein's instincts regarding Lansky were correct. Under his guidance, Lansky and his youthful mob associates built the biggest bootlegging operation in the United States. Lansky would later go on to establish a portfolio of gambling casinos, which proved popular because the games played there were fair. Lansky, in the 1940s, would also be involved in the development of Las Vegas as a centre of legal gambling.

Knowing Luciano from an early age was also a plus. Lansky became an important member of the national criminal organisation that would come to dominate America in the 1930s. Lansky could not escape justice forever, though, and in 1953 was brought up on multiple charges of illegal betting. After pleading guilty to some of the charges, he was given a sentence of only three months.

Lansky would later become a leading underworld figure in Cuba, where he was involved with casinos on the island. However, the Cuban Revolution of the 1950s saw the communists come to power, expel the mobsters and close the casinos. Lansky lived in Florida during the 1960s and 1970s. Expecting to be eventually

ABOUT THREE-QUARTERS OF THE ILLEGAL ALCOHOL BROUGHT INTO THE UNITED STATES CAME VIA THE DETROIT REGION

Police with an intercepted cargo of moonshine stand beside a damaged automobile

Dean O'Banion, chieftain of Chicago's North Side Gang, was assassinated by mob rival Johnny Torrio in 1924

GENERATIONAL CONFLICT

HOW THE YOUNG MOBSTERS WENT TO WAR WITH THE 'MUSTACHE PETES' OF THE OLDER GENERATION

The relations between the various gangs of the American underworld were always fraught with suspicion and deadly violence. One such especially awful conflict between rival gangs was the so-called 'Castellammarese War' of 1930-1931, which took its name from the Sicilian town of Castellammare del Golfo in west Sicily, which is where one leading American crime boss, Salvatore Maranzano, had been born.

The Castellammarese War, which began in February 1930, was a lethal power struggle between Maranzano and Joe 'the Boss' Masseria for control of the mob, but it has also been portrayed as a generational conflict in which younger mobsters, 'Young Turks' or 'Americans', overthrew the older 'Mustache Petes', with their luxurious facial hair, who represented the traditional Mafia in America. The younger group of gangsters was exemplified by Lucky Luciano, who had grown up in America. Luciano had been deeply involved in the rubout of Masseria at a Coney Island restaurant on 15 April 1931, which brought the Castellammarese War to a close. This allowed Maranzano to declare himself to be the 'boss of all bosses' of the New York Mafia.

Luciano was also behind the 10 September 1931 murder of Maranzano himself, just a few months after Maranzano's faction claimed to have 'won' the war. Masseria and Maranzano were no innocents, of course. Luciano was simply striking first once he had learned that each man wanted him dead too.

As with almost all Mafia-related history, the actual facts are murky and it is often impossible to separate truth from fiction. Traditional accounts have held that the war involved hundreds of gangsters across America and that around 60 perished in the struggle. Others say the carnage was much lighter, holding that the death toll was closer to around 14.

Joe Masseria was Lucky Luciano's boss during Prohibition and was a casualty of the Castellammarese War

charged with tax evasion, Lansky fled to Israel in 1970, but he was ordered to leave by the Israeli government in 1972. Ironically, Lansky would be acquitted in 1974, and died in 1983 in Miami Beach.

Few gangsters of the Prohibition period were more colourful than Bugsy Siegel, Meyer Lansky's close associate from an early age. In his younger days during Prohibition, Siegel was a hot-headed gunman who took contracts from the likes of Joe Masseria and Salvatore Maranzano. He was nicknamed Bugsy, which he detested, supposedly because he was judged unstable, and other gangsters would say he was 'going bugs' when he became agitated. In 1937, after Prohibition had ended, he headed out west to Hollywood where he set up a gambling operation.

By 1946, Siegel was overseeing the building of the Flamingo Hotel in Las Vegas. The Flamingo was his biggest undertaking, and entirely above-board, because gambling was legal in Nevada. Unfortunately, it turned out to be a huge money-loser, suffering from enormous cost overruns and delays. A project that had initially been budgeted at $1 million ended up costing about six. The Flamingo opened in late 1946 but was plagued with troubles. His investors, many of them other mobsters, were very unhappy and not an understanding bunch. Siegel was assassinated in 1947 at the home of his girlfriend, with nine shots fired, and two striking him. Suspicion of course fell on his disappointed gangster investors, but there were any number of people who would have wanted Siegel dead.

One of the mob's foremost assassins during the Prohibition era was Albert Anastasia. Anastasia has been placed as part of the group of gunmen who murdered Joe Masseria. One of the men who was said to have gone along with him on the hit headed up Murder, Inc with Anastasia. Murder, Inc was a Brooklyn, New York-based outfit of assassins who would rub out any target for a price. The advantage of using Murder, Inc's services, from a mob boss's point of view, was that the order to kill was sent from him to his lieutenant and then to the hitmen of Murder, Inc. The assassins did not know who was actually paying for the hit, and so there was very little to connect the bosses to any of the murders they had commissioned.

One of the most prominent victims of Murder, Inc was another mobster, Dutch Schultz. Schultz had made a request to the Commission that it authorise the murder of Thomas Dewey, a federal prosecutor who had indicted Schultz twice for tax evasion. Schultz, knowing that Dewey would never give up, wanted him dead. The Commission saw matters very differently. Killing Dewey would only serve to increase federal attention on the mob and it turned Schultz down. Schultz unwisely then declared that he would do the job himself. To forestall a murder that would bring nothing but bad things, Luciano authorised a hit on Schultz. On 23 October 1935, two Murder, Inc gunmen mowed down Schultz and his bodyguards at a New Jersey restaurant.

Attention falls mainly on Chicago and New York as hotspots of underworld activity during Prohibition, but there were gangs in other cities, too. Detroit was the domain of the Purple Gang. Standing atop the pyramid of the Detroit underworld, it was a Jewish gang with a

THE TERRIBLE GENNAS GANG PAID IMMIGRANT FAMILIES TO TURN INDUSTRIAL ALCOHOL INTO LOW-GRADE WHISKEY

Liquor is poured into a sewer sometime during Prohibition

AMERICAN MOB TIMELINE

1920

Prohibition begins
The 18th Amendment, banning the production and sale of alcoholic beverages, goes into effect in January 1920. American organised crime scrambles to supply it to thirsty customers.
17 January 1920

1920

Johnny Torrio assassinates Big Jim Colosimo
In Chicago, Johnny Torrio has 'Big Jim' Colosimo assassinated. One of Torrio's underlings is Al Capone, who will later take over his Chicago operations.
11 May 1920

1929

St Valentine's Day Massacre
In a mass murder organised by Chicago crime boss Al Capone, four men, including two posing as police officers, gun down seven members of the rival North Side Gang in a garage.
14 February 1929

Detroit police raid an illegal brewery during Prohibition years

1931

Castellammarese War ends
Joe Masseria is assassinated, at Lucky Luciano's direction, bringing the Castellammarese War between him and Salvatore Maranzano to a violent end.
15 April 1931

The body of Salvatore Maranzano following his assassination on 10 September 1931

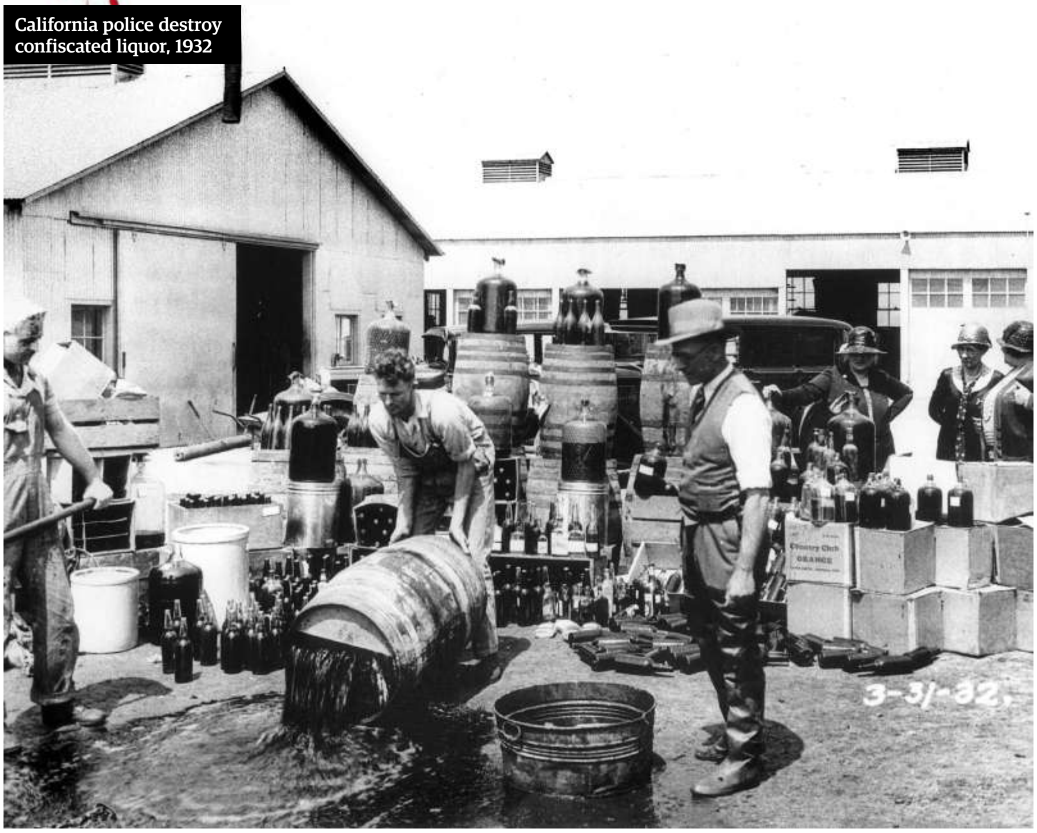
1931

The Commission
Luciano sets up the 'Commission' to resolve disputes among the mob's Five Families and a handful of other criminal groups. It relies on the services of Murder, Inc to enforce discipline on unruly mobsters.
1931

1931

Collingwood Manor Massacre
The Purple Gang slaughters the Third Avenue Terrors at a Collingwood Avenue apartment in Detroit but a witness survives and goes on to testify against them. Several Purple Gang members are convicted and given life sentences.
16 September 1931

Johnny Torrio, a leading gangster of the early Prohibition years and mentor of Al Capone



California police destroy confiscated liquor, 1932

penchant for murder, with 500 deaths being attributed to its members. This figure is even higher than those that were found in super-violent Chicago. A large number of the Purple Gang's members had emigrated from Eastern Europe in the late 19th century. It was led by the Bernstein brothers – Raymond, Joseph, Abe and Izzy. After coming to New York, they settled in Michigan.

Starting out as small-time criminals as youngsters, they graduated to bigger things as adults. Prohibition provided them with extraordinary opportunities. Detroit, the capital of American automobile manufacturing, was America's fourth-largest city and had a population of around 1 million. Importantly for the role it would play during Prohibition, Detroit lay on the US-Canadian border. This was significant because Canada became the place where liquor could be obtained and smuggled into the United States to quench the thirsts of American drinkers. When the Detroit River froze over in the winter, American bootleggers' trucks would roll over with cargoes of Canadian spirits.

The Purple Gang had a hand in extortion rackets, truck hijackings, prostitution, illegal gambling and armed robberies. The bulk of the gang's funds came from bootlegging alcohol. The money they earned was used to pay bribes to police and other government officials to look the other way. In the mid-1920s, the Purple Gang fought tooth and nail with Italian and Irish gangsters over territory. Such was their known power and propensity for violence that they were able to dissuade Al Capone, who was hardly reluctant to use violent tactics himself, to keep out of Detroit.

Eventually, the Purple Gang's brutal ways brought about its downfall. In 1931, a hit gone wrong resulted in a survivor who testified against the gangsters and several of its leading members, including Raymond Bernstein, were given life sentences without the possibility of parole. The Purple Gang was mortally wounded, and soon faded from the Detroit scene.

Prohibition came to an end in 1933 with the repeal of the 18th Amendment. The mob, which had profited so enormously from Prohibition, had become far stronger than it otherwise might have been by having the opportunity to sell liquor for huge amounts of cash. It would go on to find other sources of revenue, now that alcohol was legal again, and prosper. It exists still.

Federal prosecutor Thomas E Dewey, the target of mobster Dutch Schultz's murderous wrath

1946

Luciano gets out
Lucky Luciano's lengthy prison sentence is commuted and he is released from prison because of the help he gave in securing American ports from Axis sabotage.
3 January 1946

A New York Police Department mugshot of Lucky Luciano, taken in 1931

1935

Assassination of Dutch Schultz
After antagonising the Commission with his dangerous plan to kill Thomas Dewey, a federal prosecutor, Murder, Inc hitmen shoot rogue mobster Dutch Schultz at the Palace Chop House, a Newark, New Jersey restaurant. He dies the next day.
23 October 1935

1936

Trial of Luciano
Lucky Luciano goes to trial on prostitution-related charges. He is later convicted and is sentenced to 40 years in prison. This is a virtual life sentence for Luciano.
13 May 1936

Bugsy Siegel was gunned down at the age of 41

1947

Bugsy Siegel is assassinated
Bugsy Siegel meets his end when a hail of bullets tears through the home of his girlfriend. Disgruntled mob investors in his Flamingo Hotel are likely behind the hit.
20 June 1947

1962

Luciano's end
Lucky Luciano suffers a heart attack in Naples, Italy and dies at the age of 64.
26 January 1962

JAZZ
DANCING
CHALMERS

PUBLIC ENEMY NUMBER ONE

AL CAPONE

ARRIVING IN CHICAGO AS A MINOR LEAGUE MOBSTER, AL CAPONE HELPED BUILD AN EMPIRE OF PROSTITUTION, BOOTLEGGING AND MURDER THAT MADE HIM A NOTORIOUS HOUSEHOLD NAME

The needle skipped as the gun barked twice in the killer's hand, the record player screeching into the silence of the restaurant's corridor as its owner crashed to the floor, blood pooling out onto the polished tiles.

Giacomo 'Big Jim' Colosimo, his body cooling from its exit wounds, had recently left his wife, filing for divorce and skipping town to marry a 19-year-old cabaret singer. His ex-wife, Victoria Moresco, or one of her brothers, was the prime suspect in this crime of passion, but the police knew enough to pay a visit to two of Colosimo's associates – the genial Johnny Torrio and his sidekick, the disquieting Alfonse Capone, three nasty scars on his cheek contorting as he smiled. "Big Jim and me were like brothers," claimed Torrio. "Mr Colosimo and me both loved opera", added Capone. "He was a grand guy."

Colosimo's murder on 11 May 1920 is still regarded as unsolved, but perhaps it's a crime that Chicago Police Department chose to leave that way. For nearly a decade Colosimo had ruled Chicago through hard graft and intimidation – running over 100 brothels with his wife – and extorting protection money from most of the city's illegal gambling dens, the profits snaking through the entire city, supplementing the meagre wages of the cop on the street corner and boosting the bank account of the city's two-time mayor, William 'Big Bill' Hale Thompson.

Chicago was a rough town. Booming in the early 1920s thanks to heavy industry and cheap labour, the Windy City was a Wild West frontier town with chimney stacks instead of cacti and bullet-riddled Model-T Fords in lieu of horses. "She was vibrant and violent," wrote local journalist Robert St John, "stimulating and ruthless, intolerant of smugness, impatient with those either physically or intellectually timid."

Capone had arrived in Chicago from New York in 1919 to work for his old friend Torrio, who had earned Colosimo's trust by chasing off a rival extortion racket and stuck around as the boss's second in command. Capone soon put the feared reputation he had enjoyed back home to work as a debt collector, seeing first hand how Colosimo's operation held a stranglehold over the underworld; gambling dens who refused to pay up for Big Jim's protection would either find themselves the subject of a convenient police raid or – worse still – a visit from Capone, who was more than happy to break a few legs and mess up a card table with a swing from his baseball bat.

Compared to the claustrophobic Big Apple, where half a dozen gangs butted heads over a block at a time, Torrio and Capone found Chicago fertile for expansion, as the only thing that stood in their way was their own boss. In January 1920 the rules of the game changed again as the 18th Amendment to the US Constitution came into effect. Also known as the Volstead Act, which prohibited the production, transportation and sale of alcohol – but not the consumption – Prohibition meant a huge swathe of the population were suddenly transformed into potential customers. Torrio and Capone saw that this was a revenue stream with the potential to dwarf even prostitution and racketeering, but to their dismay Colosimo was having none of it. When Colosimo was conveniently removed from the picture, John 'The Fox' Torrio became the boss of the Chicago Outfit, and by his side stood Al Capone.

With Torrio's blessing, Capone set about covertly reopening breweries and distilleries that had been closed by the Volstead Act, setting up an ambitious distribution network to the city's mean speakeasies with the help of his older brothers Ralph and Frank Capone. "Nobody wanted Prohibition," he said. "This town voted six to one against it. Somebody had to throw some liquor on that thirst. Why not me?"

The loyal Ralph was put in charge of one of the Chicago Outfit's legal enterprises, a soft-drink bottling plant which earned him the nickname 'Bottles', while Frank honed a reputation for savagery that overshadowed even Al's. Estimated to have been responsible for 300 deaths, Frank infamously advised his little bother that, "you get no talk back from a corpse."

It was happening under Johnny Torrio's command but there was no doubt that bootlegging was Al Capone's kingdom, and he was soon to pay for it in blood as 1923 saw the downfall of Chicago's sticky fingered mayor, 'Big Bill' Thompson. The Democrat William Emmett Dever was voted in on a pledge to sweep the gangs from the city, and Torrio entrusted Capone with an urgent relocation to Cicero – the fourth largest city in Illinois – just outside of Chicago and the legislative reach of 'Decent Dever.' While

JOHNNY TORRIO

EVEN AFTER HANDING CONTROL OVER TO CAPONE AFTER HE WAS SHOT TORRIO WAS STILL INVOLVED IN ORGANISED CRIME AND BECAME A CLOSE ASSOCIATE OF LUCKY LUCIANO AND OTHER MOB BOSSES

CAPONE IN NEW YORK

Born in 1898 in a run-down district of Brooklyn to Italian immigrants Gabriele and Teresina Capone, Al Capone's life of crime began early, brawling with street gangs and running errands for mobsters. One, a young rising star called Johnny Torrio, would loom larger in his life later on.

Capone soon found work with Frankie Yale (born Francesco Ioele), a vicious thug with links to Torrio. Working as a barman in Yale's bar, the Harvard Inn – a notorious haunt of prostitutes and gangsters – Capone got the vicious scars on his face when he leered at one mobster's sister "Honey, you got a nice ass and I mean that as a compliment, believe me." The furious Frank Galluccio called Capone out and slashed him three times across his cheek with a knife. He needed 30 stitches, but he was lucky the hoodlum had been drinking because Galluccio was aiming for his jugular. In the bar he also picked up syphilis, which eventually caused his death, but may have affected him even earlier. Neurosyphilis attacks the brain and the spinal column, and can cause violent mood swings, delusions and megalomania.

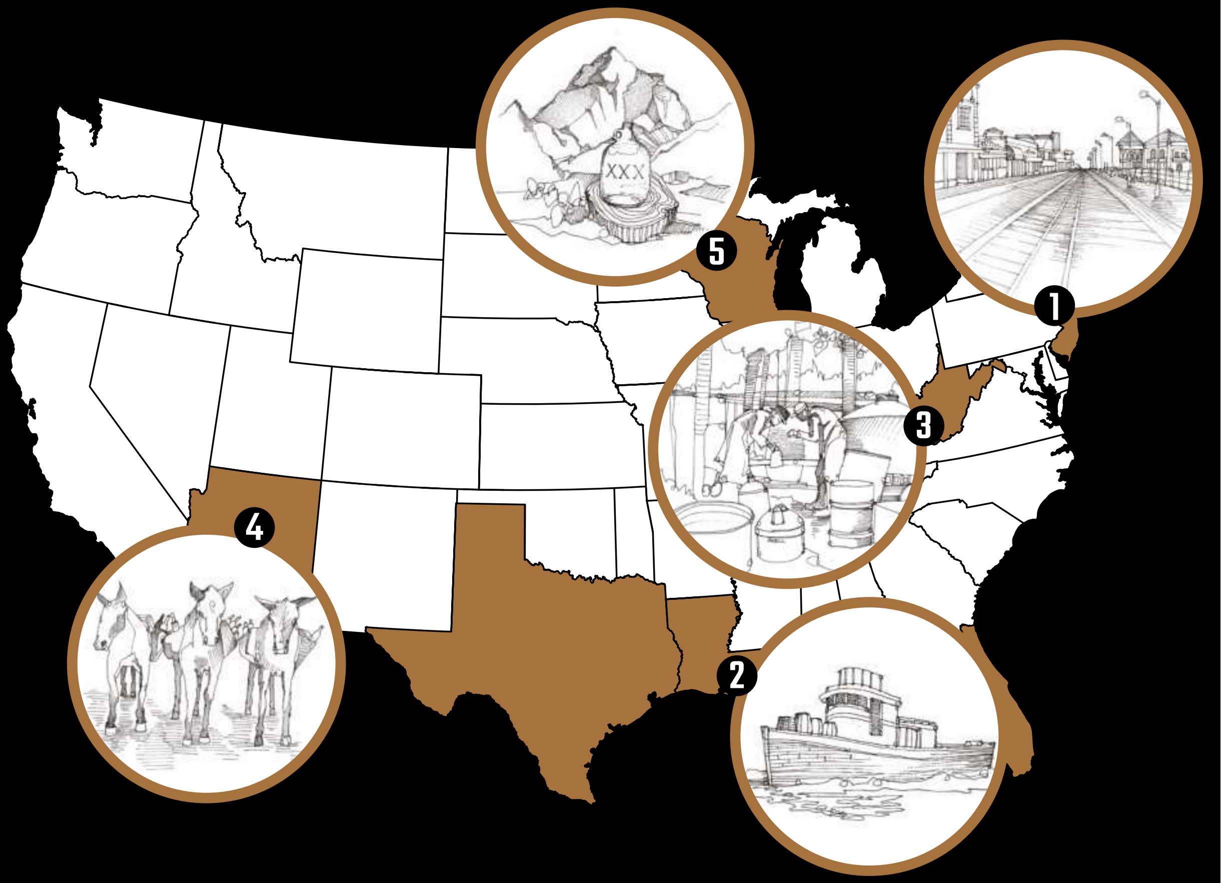
BILLIARDS
WARNERS
ROSELAND
RIVOLI
CAPITOL
CAPITOL
AL JOLSON JAZZ SINGER
BROADWAY

Capone learned his trade in 1910s New York

HOW AMERICA SWAM WITH BOOZE

1. WHISKY ON THE BOARDWALK

Ships laden down with whisky from Canada would anchor off the coast of New Jersey, well beyond the maritime limit patrolled by the US Coast Guard. Smugglers would sail out to pick up the crates of booze and New Jersey's vast coastline became something of a free-for-all, with rival gangs hijacking each other's shipments. The hedonistic boardwalk resort of Atlantic City became the major gateway with the town's Irish-American racketeer Enoch 'Nucky' Johnson taking a major cut before it moved onward to Capone in Chicago or other mobs in New York and Jersey City.



2. RUM FROM THE CARIBBEAN

With Prohibition, Cuba emerged as a hedonistic getaway from the newly 'dry' US to the Bacardi-soaked Caribbean. Traffic flowed both ways, however, with 'rum runners' smuggling from Cuba, Jamaica and the Bahamas into South Florida, Texas and Louisiana. In Texas, Galveston became the major entry point, supplying the rest of Texas and much of the Midwest. Dubbed the 'Free State of Galveston', brothers Sam and Rose Maceo ruled the local vice trade and successfully held off competition from Capone and New York boss Albert Anastasia.

3. A LAKE OF WHISKY

Although Ontario had its own temperance laws, they didn't ban distilling alcohol – leading to a flow of hooch across Lake Michigan and up the Detroit River from Windsor to Detroit. With illegally obtained papers saying their final destination was Venezuela, they would quietly off-load their cargo in Motor City instead. Detroit had been 'dry' well before Prohibition and the Purple Gang tightly controlled the rum-running trade and were major suppliers to Capone's Chicago Outfit.

4. MULES FROM MEXICO

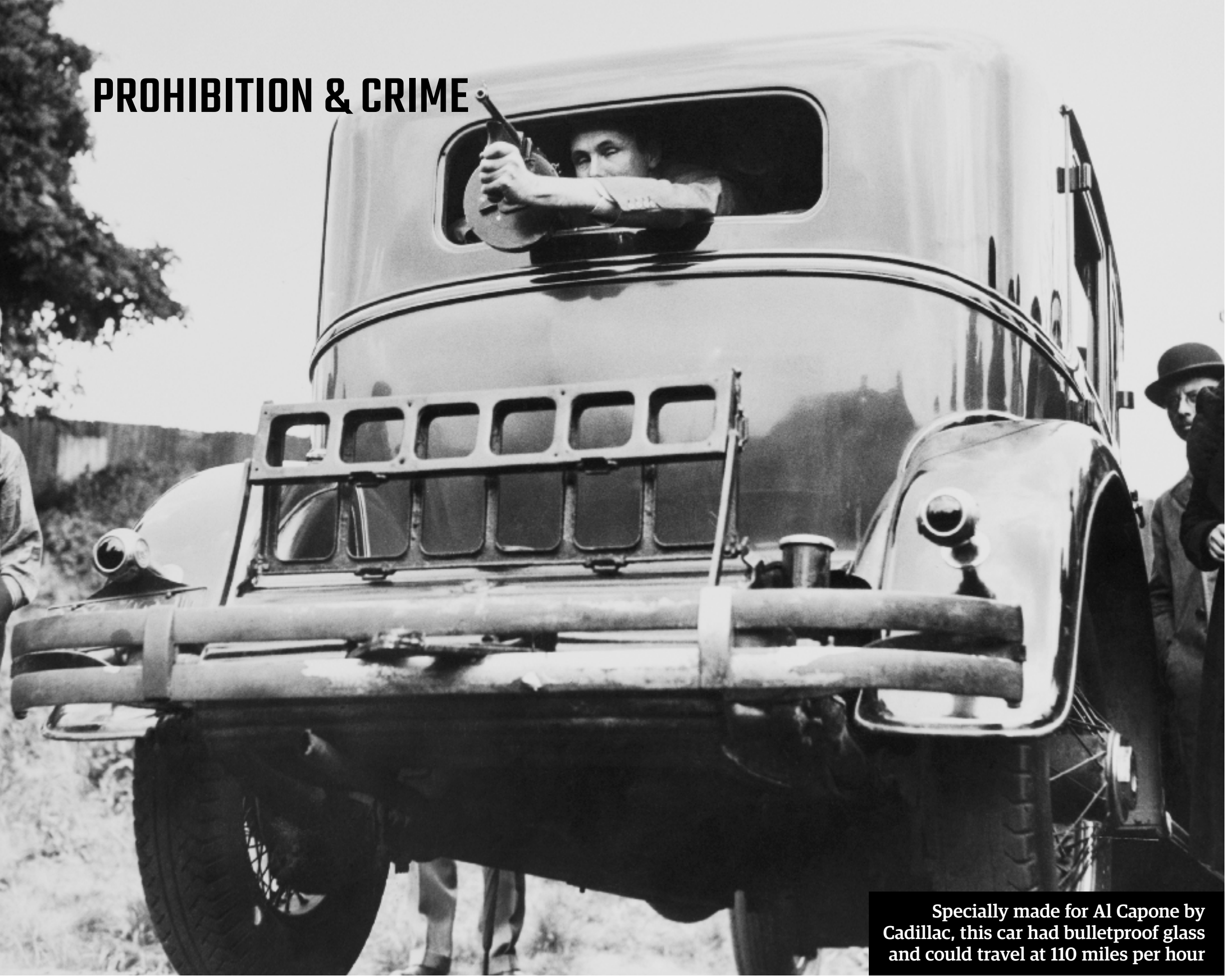
Mass smuggling of US goods into Mexico was turned completely on its head thanks to Prohibition. Now home-made tequila and mescal was smuggled in the opposite direction by mule in groups of three or four, often crossing rivers at night, or by truck and car along dusty and isolated roads. Texas's 1,300km (800mi) Mexican border was simply too wide be to adequately policed, and cat-and-mouse chases between the smugglers and Texas Rangers became the stuff of legend.

5. MOUNTAIN MOONSHINE

While champagne, gin, rum and whisky were available to those with the cash to cover its dangerous distribution, the poorer had to be taken care of too and moonshine cut the costs significantly.

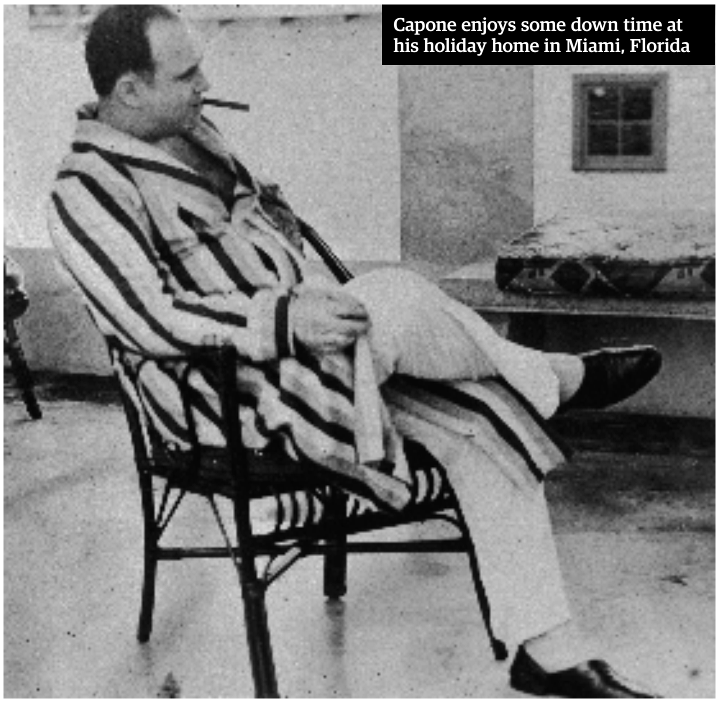
Rural communities in the Appalachian Mountains and the Midwest had a tradition of home brew, but now a market opened up for their moonshine. Stills could explode and quality control was poor and potentially life-threatening – but moonshiners often expanded their operations into barn-sized breweries.

> "HIS REVOLVER LEVELLED AT TORRIO'S SKULL – THE GUN CLICKED ON EMPTY AND THE WOULD-BE ASSASSINS FLED"

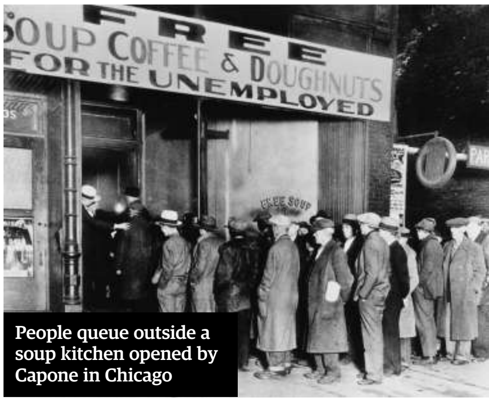


Specially made for Al Capone by Cadillac, this car had bulletproof glass and could travel at 110 miles per hour

Capone winks at the camera after being sentenced



Capone enjoys some down time at his holiday home in Miami, Florida


FREE
SOUP COFFEE & DOUGHNUTS
FOR THE UNEMPLOYED
FREE SOUP

People queue outside a soup kitchen opened by Capone in Chicago

The public gallery at Capone's trial cover their faces for the camera to avoid being recognised

Capone is transported to prison following his trial for tax evasion

Capone pictured in court during his trial

Torrio and Capone had ruled their criminal empire largely as Colosimo had – with money in the right pockets and threats whispered in the right ears – the takeover of Cicero was an overt display of force, as Capone set about rigging the mayoral election for the mob's pet politician, Joseph Z Klenha.

On the eve of the 1924 mayoral election, Frank Capone burst into the office of the Democrat candidate for Cicero with some of his thugs, beating the hopeful to a pulp with their pistol butts, trashing his office and firing their revolvers into the ceiling as a preamble for the next day's audacious takeover. As cold, grey 1 April dawned, Capone hoods stormed into the polling stations to screen voters, snatching their ballot papers from them to ensure they were ticking the right box. Election officials with the stones to intervene were dealt with; a Democrat campaign worker was shot in the legs and dumped in a cellar, two other men were shot in the street and another had his throat cut.

Eventually, a desperate judge bussed in 70 Chicago police officers, deputised on the spot into the Cicero Police Department, to restore order. As the rain started to fall, Frank Capone found himself in a firefight outside a polling station. Opening fire on an approaching police car, he was gunned down by the startled cops, but it was too late – the town belonged to the Chicago Outfit. Frank got a funeral fit for war hero, with $20,000 worth of flowers placed around the silver plated coffin and over 150 cars in the motorcade.

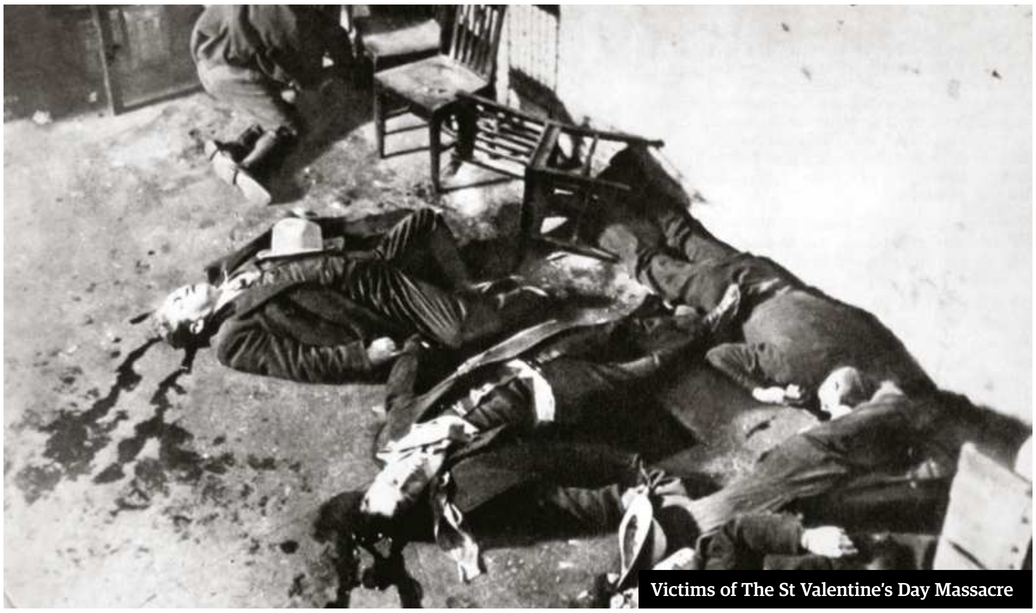
Despite the appalling bloodshed in the takeover of Cicero, Al Capone had been something of an enigma to the press. However, as he got his hands dirtier and dirtier and frequently acted unstably – a possible consequences of syphilis contracted back in New York – his name was beginning to be heard outside of darkened back rooms where shady men made deals. A few weeks after Frank's body hit the pavement, small-time burglar 'Ragtime' Joe Howard was enjoying a drink in a bar, when two men entered. Witnesses, who quickly forgot all the other details, recalled him say a friendly "Hello Al" before he was shot point blank – four rounds into his cheek and two into his shoulder. Nobody saw anything, nobody recognised the man, but the police knew who was responsible and so did the press, so for the first time, Capone's mugshot appeared on the front page.

In private, Capone's gang whispered that Howard had stuck up Jack 'Greasy Thumb' Guzik for $1,500, boasting he had "made the little Jew whine." Guzik was Capone's trusted money man, responsible for regular payoffs to cops and judges. Soon the name 'Scarface' began to stick, needling away at Capone's vanity – he never allowed the left side of his face to be photographed – and he began to lash out at the flickering flash bulbs of the photographers.

There were far more immediate threats than damning headlines, though. The predominantly Irish-American North Side Gang run by Dean O'Banion controlled the breweries and the bootlegging in Chicago's North Side and had resisted all of Torrio's efforts to bring them to heel. Alliances and truces had dwindled and fallen apart, but the last straw came on 19 May 1924 as O'Banion finally relinquished his share of the Sieben Brewery to Torrio. As soon as Torrio and his boys – joined by their allies in Little Sicily's 'Terrible Gennas' – showed up, a conveniently timed police raid swept in and the boss was left with a $5,000 fine and a nine-month jail sentence. "Deany was all right," smirked Capone, who took over the day-to-day running of the mob while Torrio served his sentence. "But like everyone else, his head got away from his hat."

One day while O'Banion clipped chrysanthemums in his flower shop, Schofields, Mike 'The Devil' Genna, John Scalise, Albert Anselmi and Frankie Yale strode in. As O'Banion and Yale shook hands, Scalise and Anselmi fired two bullets into his chest and two into his throat. As he lay on the floor in a pool of blood and petals, he was shot in the back of the head for good measure. He had been dealt with.

George Clarence 'Bugs' Moran took over the North Side Gang and nursed their grudge, moving the headquarters from Schofields to the garage that would become the site of the shocking St Valentine's Day



Victims of The St Valentine's Day Massacre

Massacre in 1929, the culmination of a brutal and bloody five-year gang war between the Chicago Outfit and the North Side Gang.

Upon his release Torrio kept a low profile – safe in the knowledge that with Capone in the hot seat, he'd be less of a target. For all of the Fox's wiles, he just hadn't reckoned on how personal this war had become. Returning from a day shopping with his wife on the morning of 24 January 1925, gunfire lit up the street from a blue Cadillac lurking on the curb, shredding shopping bags to confetti. Blood mingled with the groceries from a litany of wounds as Johnny Torrio stared at the sky, the shrieking of Anna Torrio strangely distant. As Bugs Moran stood over him, blocking the crisp winter sun, his revolver levelled at Torrio's skull – the gun clicked on empty and the would-be assassins fled.

Capone's ascendancy was immediate as Torrio underwent emergency surgery. Capone slept by his mentor's bedside – the men of the Chicago Outfit standing guard around the clock, eying each disinterested nurse and flower-clutching day visitor suspiciously. "It's all yours, Al," said Torrio eventually. "Me? I'm quitting. It's Europe for me."

With the Fox quietly returning to Italy, Capone moved his headquarters into Chicago's luxurious Lexington Hotel, taking over the fourth and fifth floors where he held court like an emperor, surrounded by mobsters and prostitutes. A concrete vault was installed in the basement and a secret staircase hidden behind a mirror in one of his bathrooms, just one part of a web of tunnels that would allow him a quick escape. Rising late most days, he took his time pouring over the morning papers like a statesman, before dressing himself in expensive finely tailored suits. Early afternoon, Capone moved into his study in another suite where petitioners waited anxiously for favours and his patronage. Nobody talked about the "Free Kingdom of Torrio" anymore. No, now the press called Cicero the "Capital of Caponeland."

Capone began to court newspaper men, handing out expensive cigars and inviting them to lavish parties, where the lord of the Chicago underworld played billiards with boxers, baseball players and the notoriously corrupt

“CAPONE MOVED INTO HIS STUDY WHERE PETITIONERS WAITED ANXIOUSLY FOR FAVOURS AND HIS PATRONAGE”

FIVE FACTS ABOUT SCARFACE

1. Capone's specially-outfitted, bulletproof Cadillac was seized by the US Treasury Department in 1932. It was later used by the government as President Franklin Roosevelt's limousine.
2. Even though he is synonymous with Chicago, he only lived in the city for 12 years of his life.
3. Allegedly, he had never heard of Eliot Ness, the government agent sent to bring him to justice.
4. The man who helped America swim in booze during Prohibition's favourite drink was Templeton Rye whisky.
5. His men carried out most of the deaths he is responsible for, but Capone is still thought to have killed more than a dozen men personally.

Capone with family and friends at a picnic, Chicago, 1929

CAPONE AND ALCATRAZ

What was he sentenced for?

Capone was sentenced to 11 years for three counts of tax evasion (1927-9) and two counts of failing to provide tax returns (1928-9) as his lavish lifestyle and lack of legitimate income was used against him. 11 further counts of tax evasion and 5,000 violations of the Volstead Act were dropped out of fear the prosecution would be unable to get a conviction.

What was his defence?

Capone's legal team originally struck a deal with the prosecution to admit to the lighter charges and serve between two and five years so business would be able to go on as usual. However, when details leaked to the press the outrage was so great that the deal was immediately canned and the judge threw the book at him.

What happened at the trial?

The jury was suddenly exchanged for another in the court by Judge Wilkerson when the police learnt of a plot from Capone's mob to bribe them. The new jury, all from rural Illinois, were sequestered overnight to keep them out of the Chicago Outfit's reach. Wilkerson sentenced Capone to 11 years, $50,000 in fines, court costs of another $30,000 and no bail.

How was life for him in jail?

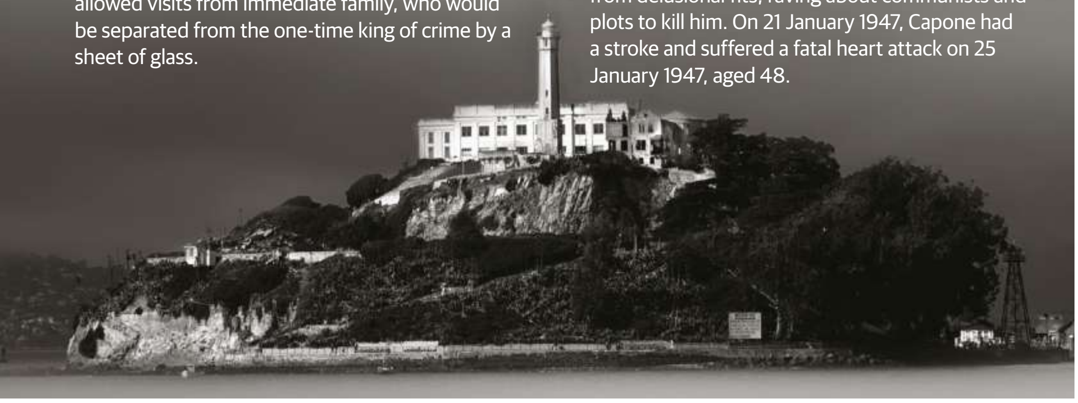
Initially, Capone served his sentence in Atlanta, Georgia, continuing to rule his crime empire by proxy, bribing guards with thousands of dollars hidden in the hollow handle of a tennis racket to be able to communicate with the outside world. He was then sent to the newly opened Alcatraz, where his link to the outside world was finally severed.

Was Alcatraz a 'hard' prison?

In Alcatraz, Capone's letters were censored, prohibited subjects and current events were removed, newspapers banned and all magazines had to be at least seven months old. He was only allowed visits from immediate family, who would be separated from the one-time king of crime by a sheet of glass.

Why was he released?

Capone was released into the care of his family on 16 November 1939 due to brain damage caused by neurosyphilis. By 1946, he was deemed to have the intelligence of a 12-year-old, suffering from delusional fits, raving about communists and plots to kill him. On 21 January 1947, Capone had a stroke and suffered a fatal heart attack on 25 January 1947, aged 48.



Alcatraz was a federal prison from 1933 until 1963

mayor of Chicago, Big Bill Thompson, miraculously re-elected in 1927. "Public service is my motto," Capone explained to attentive reporters in December 1927. "99 per cent of the public in [Chicago] drink and gamble and my offense has been to furnish them with those amusements. My booze has been good and my games on the square."

Already the public had some sympathy for the bootleggers and Capone took hold of the notion and twisted it into the spectre of Robin Hood, portraying himself as heroic outlaw giving the people what they wanted. The bigger Capone's business became, the more intricate and vulnerable the network of mobsters, bribes and alliances required to sustain it. It got to a point where the endemic corruption of Chicago's law and government simply couldn't be ignored. In the wake of the shocking St Valentine's Day Massacre, Herbert Hoover was elected US president on an anti-corruption platform. His first move was to dispatch Prohibition agent Eliot Ness and a handpicked team of incorruptible 'Untouchables' to clean up Chicago's streets by raiding Capone's speakeasies and stills, and more importantly, it transpired, a team of IRS agents headed by accountant-turned-lawman Frank J Wilson with a mandate to turn over Capone's finances for something that would stick in court.

"Every time a boy falls off a tricycle, every time a black cat has gray kittens, every time someone stubs a toe, every time there's a murder or a fire or the Marines land in Nicaragua, the police and the newspapers holler, 'Get Capone!'" raged Chicago's premier gangster in his penthouse. "I'm sick of it."

As the gangster was having a tantrum, one of the men tasked with bringing him to justice was having second thoughts. "Doubts raced through my mind as I considered the feasibility of enforcing a law which the majority of honest citizens didn't seem to want," Ness admitted in his autobiography. "I felt a chill foreboding for my men as I envisioned the violent reaction we would produce in the criminal octopus hovering over Chicago, its tentacles of terror reaching out all over the nation. We had undertaken what might be a suicidal mission."

While Capone wallowed in fine silks and syphilitic megalomania in his penthouse, Ness and his Untouchables began nipping at his heels – shutting down 18 stills and arresting 52 bootleggers in a single night. In the first six months alone, Ness' daring raids had cost the Chicago Outfit an estimated $1,000,000, as well as some of loyal lieutenants, who now languished in jail for violations of the Volstead Act. He shrugged off Capone's clumsy attempts at bribery, as well as two assassination attempts.

It was only ever an irritant, taking chunks out of his income and his pride – but to a mobster as egotistical as Capone, such defiance drove him into a rage. It was a fury Ness gleefully exploited – parading captured vehicles outside his hotel and taunting him on the phone. However much Ness might have damaged his ego, the real danger to the man who made the streets of Chicago swim in booze and blood came from fraud investigator Frank J Wilson as he poured over reams of paperwork.

In May 1927, the US Supreme Court's 'Sullivan decision' had reversed a bizarre legal loophole that meant gangsters were legally exempt from having to register illegal income on their tax returns, on the basis that it would violate their Fifth Amendment rights. Manly Sullivan, a Chicago bootlegger whose trial lent the decision its name, received a landmark conviction for tax evasion.

That same year, the Chicago Outfit's income was an estimated $108 million. Capone simply had to be next. Facing a possible 34-year jail term from Wilson's tax case and Ness's Prohibition case, the former would stick and the latter wouldn't, but that scarcely mattered. It was the end of Capone's empire of crime, brought down not by gunfire, violence and police raids, but by the simple, dry truth of the balance sheet. The reign of Chicago's public enemy number one was over.

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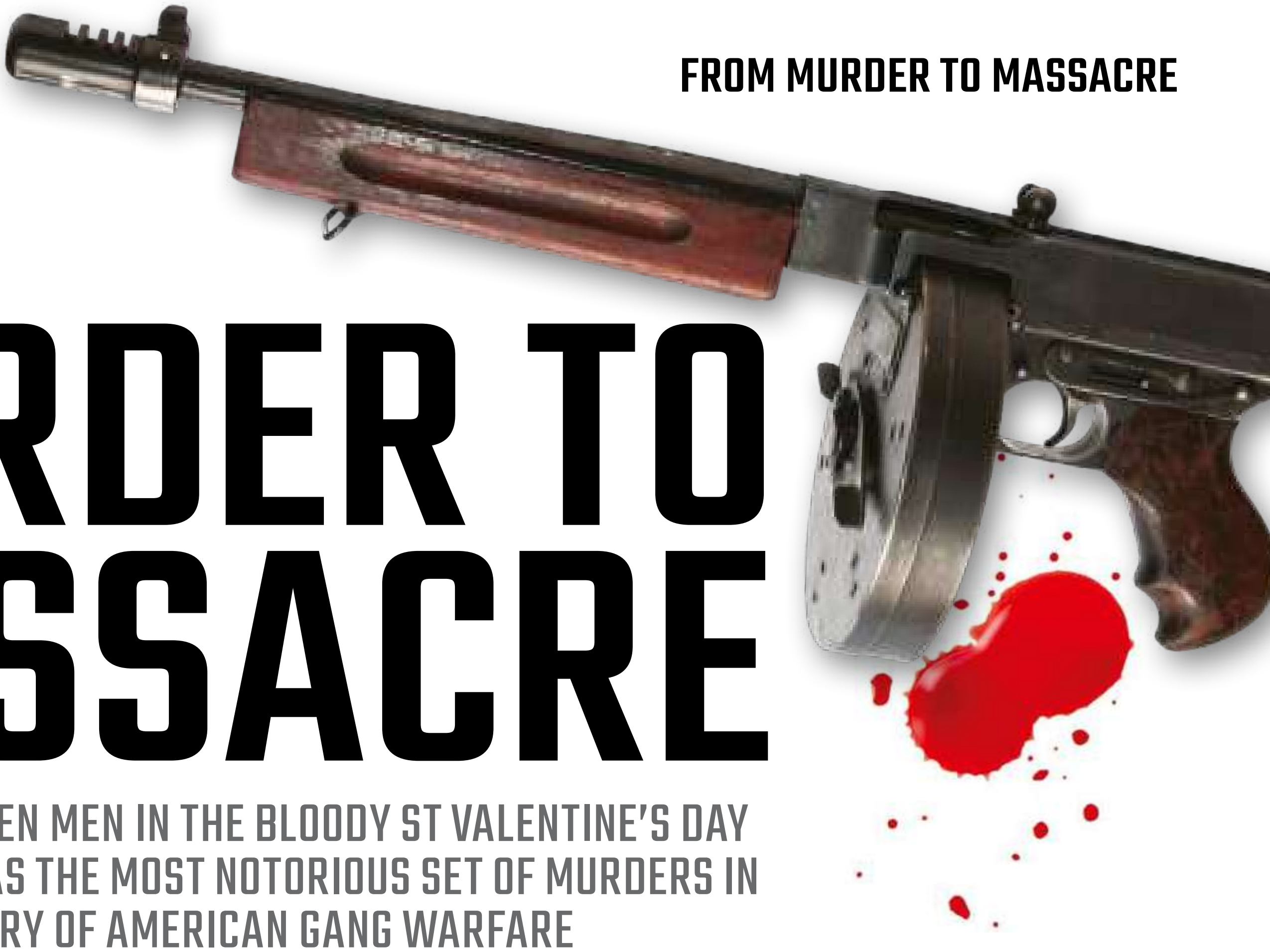
The bodies of the victims of the St Valentine's Day Massacre



FROM MURDER TO MASSACRE

THE SLAYING OF SEVEN MEN IN THE BLOODY ST VALENTINE'S DAY MASSACRE STANDS AS THE MOST NOTORIOUS SET OF MURDERS IN THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN GANG WARFARE

When surveying the landscape of gangster violence during the Prohibition era, no event, no matter how brutal, can match the notoriety of the St Valentine's Day Massacre. The machine-gun murders of seven men on 14 February 1929, by gangsters dressed as police officers, became the most storied event in the history of America's violent underworld. The killings prompted thousands upon thousands of press reports and inspired numerous histories, novels, documentaries and films. Only a few witnesses heard the machine-gun fire but its echo reverberated around the world, marking the beginning of the end for Chicago's most infamous crime lord, Al Capone.

Among those witnesses in and around N Clark Street, home to the murder scene at the SMC Cartridge Company, most presumed the gunfire was a car backfiring, which was not uncommon in the early days of the automobile. Those who did suspect a shooting would not have been surprised; gangster-on-gangster violence in Chicago had become endemic during the latter half of the decade, fuelled by the 'Beer Wars' that gripped the city between 1924 and 1930.

The first police officer on the scene, Sergeant Thomas J Loftus, was greeted by a truly grisly scene, a bloodbath of epic proportions, lit by the eerie glow of a single 200-watt bulb that dangled from the ceiling. When he arrived, six men were dead, one mortally wounded. The shooters had used Thompson submachine guns as well as shotguns, leaving a horrible bloody mess in their wake. One victim was sprawled across a chair, while the others were scattered around the concrete floor. At least two – the recipients of shotgun blasts – had their heads blown open; pieces of skull and brains were splattered on the walls. It was a scene, said Loftus, unlike any other he had encountered in his near-40-year career. He was left speechless. The only sound was the yapping of a dog that had been left tied to one of the cars in the garage. It barked repeatedly.

Regaining his composure, Loftus ordered a colleague to bolt the door. It was then he noticed that one man was still alive. It was Frank Gusenberg, one of the Irish-

THE KILLERS

WHO WERE THE MYSTERY GUNMEN RESPONSIBLE FOR THE NOTORIOUS BLOODBATH?

Fred 'Killer' Burke, considered the leader of those who executed the hit

Though most historians and investigators agree Capone was almost certainly behind the attack, there has been much disagreement over the years about who actually executed the killings. However, it is now widely accepted that five men were crucial to the hit – Fred 'Killer' Burke, Gus Winkler, Fred Goetz, Ray 'Crane Neck' Nugent and Bob Carey. Several of these men had other known aliases. Much key evidence comes from one of their lookouts, Byron Bolton, who gave a confession to the FBI that listed many details about the planning of the Massacre after he was picked up in 1935. The likes of John Scalise, Albert Anselmi and Joseph Lolordo have also been cited as killers but, in the words of historian John J Binder, the theory incorporating these three is simply a 'Solomonic compromise that includes various people who were suspected at one time or another.' Winkler later said that Burke and Goetz were in uniform and fired the machine guns.

The men who executed the killings were the remnants of a gang known as Egan's Rats, who wielded considerable power in St Louis, Missouri, up to around 1924. The new gang were a motley crew, led by Burke, and on the night of the massacre they included a number of lookouts, as well as those who drove a second police car around to the back of the garage. There could have been as many as 12 involved, other lookouts have been named as Jimmy 'the Swede' Johnson and Jimmy McCrussen. They were all outsiders, largely unknown to Chicago's police officers or mobsters. To Capone's gang, they were known as the American Boys, their relative anonymity ensured they were the perfect choice to execute the hit.

influenced North Side Gang run by George 'Bugs' Moran, a competitor of Capone with whom he had been locked in a long-running feud. Gusenberg was one of Moran's primary shooters and Loftus knew him well. The officer asked the prone man what had happened, but the gangster refused to elucidate. Instead, he pleaded for hospital attention, and Loftus assured him medical help was on the way. However, Gusenberg died soon after. The local newspapers, though lacking information, went into overdrive, with the *Herald* and *Examiner* printing a memorable line in one if its early reports: 'Chicago gangsters yesterday graduated from murder to massacre.'

Six of the dead men were known members of the North Side Gang. The seventh was a civilian, Reinhardt Schwimmer, an optometrist, although he was a recognised associate of the North Siders. The SMC Cartridge Company, meanwhile, was a well-known villains' haunt, used as headquarters by a section of Moran's gang. Three of those gunned down were among the gang's top killers. Two more were regarded as important operatives.

This was a targeted attack. The killers had hoped to gun down Moran himself. It now appears that a lookout across the street had signalled the killers to strike, mistakenly believing that Moran was inside the garage. One of the gangsters, James Clark, is thought to have resembled Moran – others claim it was Albert Weinshank who bore the closest likeness – and this seems to have duped the lookout. In fact, Moran was on his way to the garage to meet his men when he spotted a black Cadillac, the type used by Chicago lawmen, pulling up outside the venue. Fearing a police sting, he sped off. The move no doubt saved his life. He quite literally dodged a bullet.

Though the real police officers stumbled through their investigations, with different areas of law enforcement unhelpfully working against each other, and the coroner's office also working independently, most researchers and historians agree that it was Capone who ordered the hit. The police never managed to pin the killings on the notorious crime boss, but all major sources concur that he had plenty of motive.

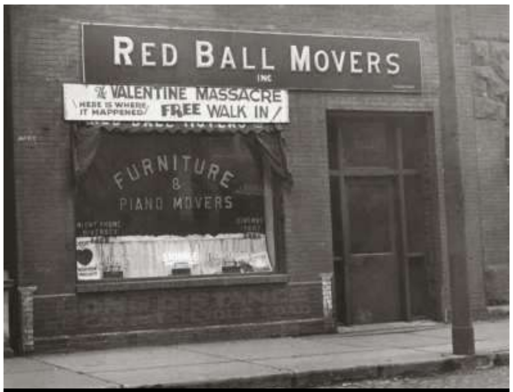
Contrary to popular belief, historians now believe it unlikely that he targeted Moran in a bid to take control of Chicago's bootlegging industry in its entirety, but he did have a long-standing grudge with his rival and the North Siders, which had been exacerbated by the latter's hit on Patsy Lolordo, head of the Unione Siciliana gang, in the September of the previous year. Capone's gang and the North Siders were also at war over control of gambling at Chicago's dog tracks, and Moran had muscled in on a number of Capone's speakeasies, insisting that they were in his territory. Killing Moran, therefore, made good sense – cut off the snake's head and the body would soon wither.

As to whom Capone hired to execute the hit, this has sparked disagreement among historians for years – though several leading experts now conclude that the hitmen were a secret crew from St Louis, known to Capone's largely Italian gang as the 'American Boys'. This group of hoodlums, thought to have been led by Fred 'Killer' Burke, is said to have grown out of the hardnosed St Louis gang once known as Egan's Rats. Early reports cite the shooters as numbering four or five men – this was the number of men witnesses saw emerge from the police Cadillac and move between the car and the garage. In truth, the death squad probably stood at around a dozen men, including the lookouts and a group of men forming a second 'detective' squad.

The massacre brought plenty of government and press attention on the nation's crime lords, prompting the famous Atlantic City Conference in May 1929, where top bosses from across the country convened. Here it was made clear to Capone that he needed to keep a low profile until the clamour died down. He subsequently left Atlantic City, travelled by train to Philadelphia and (after taking in a movie) approached some detectives

EYEWITNESSES CLAIM TWO 'OFFICERS' EXITED THE GARAGE WITH TWO CIVILIANS WHO HAD THEIR HANDS IN THE AIR – THESE WERE LIKELY THE SHOOTERS

Crowds gather to watch the removal of the men who died in the bloodbath



The SMC Cartridge Company, the scene of the murder, had become a moving company by 1934. These days it is a parking lot

THE VICTIMS

WHO WERE THE SEVEN MEN GUNNED DOWN IN COLD BLOOD?

While historians and police investigators agree that Capone was almost certainly behind the attack, there has been much disagreement over the years about who actually perpetrated the massacre. The victims, though, are well known.

Reinhart Schwimmer

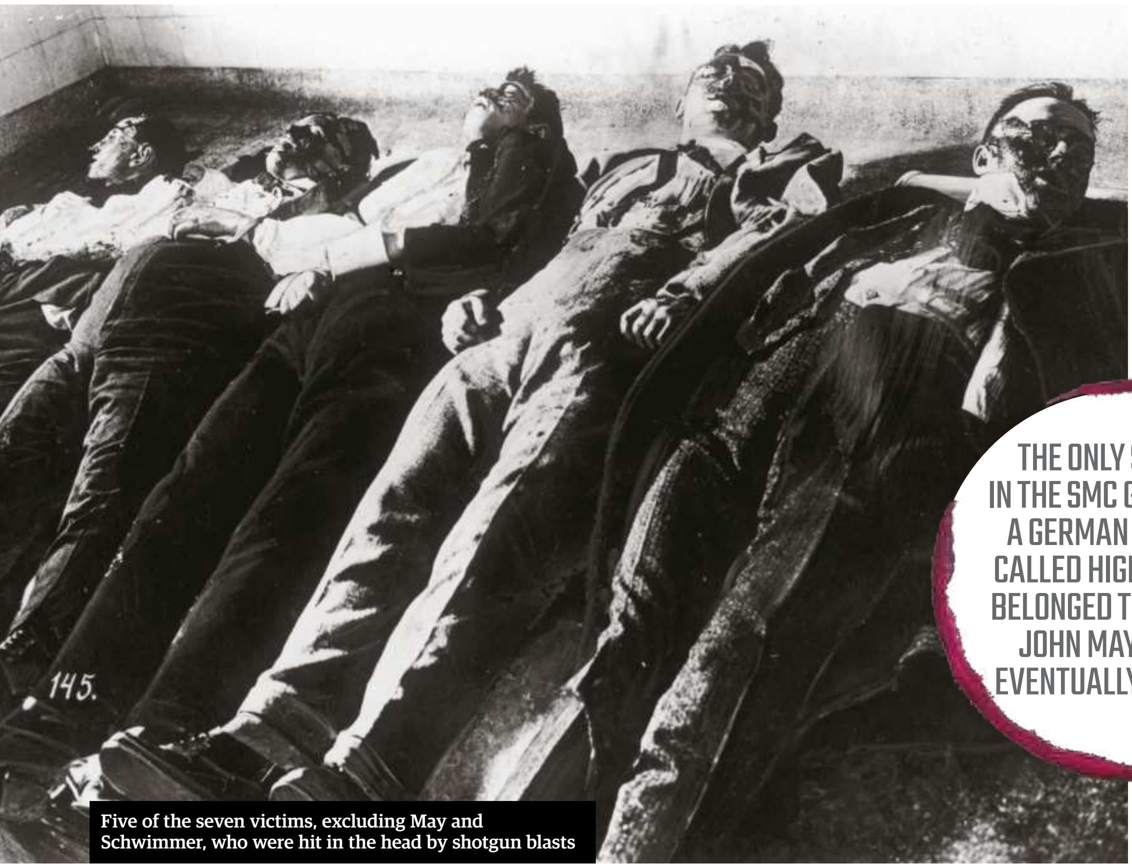
Reinhart Schwimmer was a 29-year-old optician. Police at first thought him unlucky, an innocent bystander, though it soon emerged he was something of a North Side groupie who liked to be seen with the criminals. They in turn looked on him as something of a 'mascot' and loaned him money. He was also the recipient of a shotgun blast.

Albert Kachellek

Working under the alias of 'James Clark', Kachellek was a convicted armed robber and was regarded by detectives as a hardened killer. He had worked as Moran's No 2 and though no longer as active as before, he maintained ties to the gang.

Albert Weinshank

Albert R Weinshank owned the Alcazar Club, a speakeasy on Broadway, and was also an important official in the Central Cleaners and Dyers Association. Chicago had a great many hotels and brothels and controlling this trade was big business, with many independents paying for protection. Capone had set his eyes on this business.



Five of the seven victims, excluding May and Schwimmer, who were hit in the head by shotgun blasts

with whom he was familiar and offered himself up for arrest for possession of a firearm. Ordinarily, he did not carry a weapon but, by accepting a year inside, he took himself out of the firing line and, to the wider public, it appeared that some justice had been done. Capone was behind bars. Now, the crime lords hoped, the spotlight would shine elsewhere and leave them to continue their operations in the shadows.

There was peace in Chicago, for a while at least, as the Capone gang and the North Siders worked alongside one another, sometimes in harmony. However, though he did not know it at the time, this was the beginning of the end of Al Capone. His jailing only added to his celebrity status but undermined his real power in gangland. With Moran never again rising to the prominence he enjoyed before the massacre and Capone incarcerated, a new generation of hoodlums looked to muscle in on Chicago. Under the guiding hand of the elder statesman Johnny Torrio, the likes of Meyer Lansky, Max Hoff and Frank Nitti came further to the fore. The state, meanwhile, was making its preparations prior to pouncing on Capone for tax evasion. The St Valentine's Day Massacre made Capone the most famous gangster in the world. For that notoriety he paid a heavy price.

THE ONLY SURVIVOR IN THE SMC GARAGE WAS A GERMAN SHEPHERD CALLED HIGHBALL, WHO BELONGED TO MECHANIC JOHN MAY – IT WAS EVENTUALLY PUT DOWN

John May

John May was a young mechanic with a family of seven children. He worked as a part-time mechanic for Moran's mob, too. He had worked as a safe-cracker but had retired for a $50 a week salary working on the gangsters' cars and trucks instead. His head was blown apart by a shotgun.

Adam Heyer

Heyer was, detectives said, the brains in Moran's outfit and it was he who had hired the garage during the previous December. He had served two stints inside, one for robbery and another for confidence trickery, and he was a part-owner in Moran's Fairview Kennels dog track.

Pete Gusenberg

Pete Gusenberg was one of Moran's main gunmen, along with his brother he had tried two hits on Capone shooter 'Machine Gun' Jack McGurn, often cited as one of the reasons behind Capone's decision to order the strike. He was also involved in the Dearborn Station robbery where his gang made off with $300,000.

Frank Gusenberg

Another of Moran's main gunmen, Frank and his brother Pete were the presumed murderers of Unione Siciliana presidents Tony Lombardo and Patsy Lolordo, which infuriated Capone. Frank is also said to have been one of the main shooters in an attack on Capone's headquarters at the Hawthorne Hotel in 1926.

The real Eliot Ness, in 1935

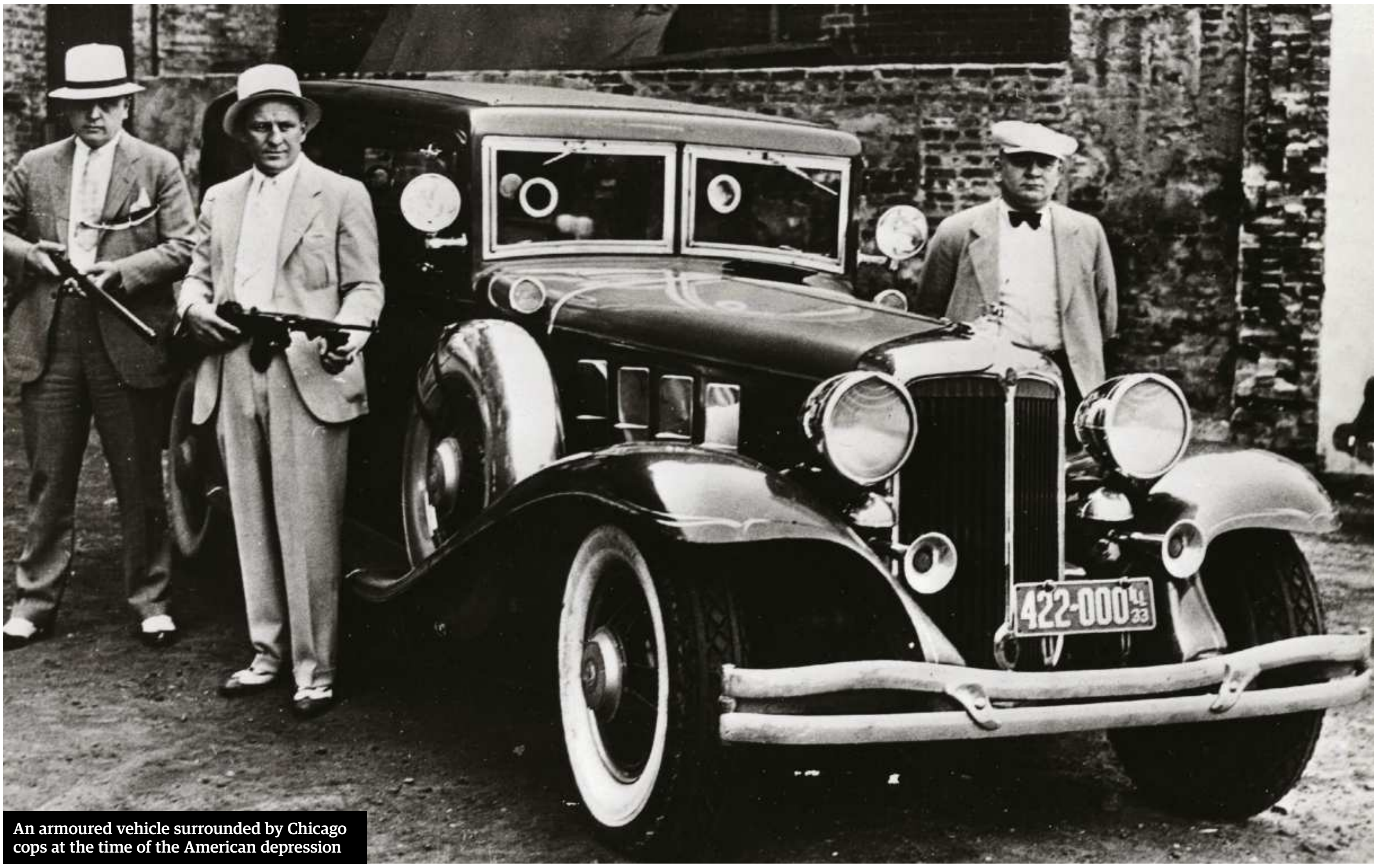
ELIOT NESS

THE RISE AND FALL

ELIOT NESS AND HIS SQUAD OF UNTOUCHABLES SET OUT TO SMASH AL CAPONE. BUT THEIR ANTICS WERE MOSTLY FOR SHOW, AND NESS'S POST-CHICAGO CAREER WAS LESS THAN ILLUSTRIOUS

In 2014, US senators Richard Durbin, Sherrod Brown and Mark Kirk proposed a tribute to the Prohibition era federal agent, Eliot Ness. In recognition of Ness's famous heroics as an enforcer of law and order, they wanted to rename the national headquarters of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives in Washington, DC in his honour. It would have been uncontroversial had those heroics been incontrovertibly true. For many critics, the Ness that became known to the public through decades of books, TV shows and movies is almost entirely fictional: a mythologised version of a man who, while he had his share of successes, was far less remarkable. "Naming a building after him for his role in bringing down Al Capone?" snorted Daniel Okrent, author of *Last Call: The Rise and Fall of Prohibition*. "You might as well name it after Batman."

Ness, clearly enough, was not an inspiration for the Caped Crusader, but he did provide the basis for another comic-strip hero. The square-jawed crime fighter Dick Tracy first appeared in the early 1930s, created by cartoonist Chester Gould. In later years the character fought outlandish freaks but in his early days his beat, like Ness's, was Chicago (the city was unnamed but it was clear where it was), and his enemies mobsters like


An armoured vehicle surrounded by Chicago cops at the time of the American depression

WHO WERE THE UNTOUCHABLES?

NESS HAND-PICKED THE 11 MEMBERS OF HIS ELITE SQUAD. THEIR JOB: TO ENFORCE THE LAW AND PRESERVE THE SAFETY OF DECENT CITIZENS!

LYLE CHAPMAN

Investigator Chapman graduated with honours from Colgate University and served as a US Army lieutenant during WWI. Eliot Ness's autobiography refers to him as "the scholarly chapman", but he was as useful on the streets as he was at a desk.

BARNEY CLOONAN

Cloonan was a heavyweight Irish agent with a reputation for his prowess in a brawl. Ness discovered in 1932 that Cloonan had in fact taken bribes from Capone. Not so untouchable after all…

MARTIN J LAHART

'Marty' Lahart was one of the fastest-rising young talents in the FBI when Ness recruited him. The pugnacious former marine was of Irish-American heritage, and was the basis for Sean Connery's memorable fictional 'Malone' character in the 1987 *Untouchables* film.

WILLIAM GARDNER

Chippewa Native American Gardner enjoyed a successful career playing and coaching American football before WWI. After his war service in France he turned to the law as his profession. The oldest Untouchable at 50, Ness found him to be incredibly adept at undercover work, considering his striking size and appearance.

MIKE KING

Analyst Mike King was Ness's man in charge of data interpretation and tactics. He said the job was "mostly routine work" and that "we were never in any real danger during the raids or our investigations."

JOE LEESON

Leeson had spent four years in the Navy during WWI, after which he'd been a boilermaker and repair engineer for US railroad companies. When he switched careers to become a prohibition agent in 1928, he became renowned within the Bureau as an expert driver, with a particular talent for tailing other vehicles undetected.

PAUL W ROBSKY

Robsky was a wire-tapping expert, fast driver and sharp-shooter, who learned his skills in the US military from 1917-27. He became a Prohibition agent in 1928. Ness called him "a good man to have around when more than ordinary courage was needed." He outlived all his colleagues and wrote an autobiography called *The Last Of The Untouchables*.

SAMUEL M SEAGER

The implacable Seager had been a death row corrections officer at New York's notorious Sing Sing prison prior to joining Ness's squad. He was responsible, with Joe Leeson, for the Untouchables' first successful raid against Capone.

THOMAS FRIEL

Representing America's honest, 'ordinary' cops on the elite team, Friel was a former state trooper hailing from Pennsylvania.

JIM SEELEY

Seeley was a late addition to Ness's team. His skills were data analysis and detection, thanks to his former career as a private investigator.

AL WOLFF

Never an official Untouchable, Wolff was a rookie FBI agent who did secret undercover jobs for Ness and never met the rest of the squad. He was nicknamed 'Wallpaper Wolff' because, when on raids, he would confiscate "everything but the wallpaper."

'Big Boy Caprice', obviously modelled on Al Capone. "I've always been disgusted when I read or learn of gangsters and criminals escaping their just dues under the law," Gould said in 1934. "For that reason I invented in Dick Tracy a detective who could either shoot down these public enemies or put them in jail where they belong." Years earlier in 1929, Eliot Ness and his 'Untouchables' had been 'created' for much the same reasons.

Eliot Ness was Chicago born and bred. His parents, both Norwegian immigrants, were sober and responsible middle-class citizens who owned and ran a bakery, instilling their work ethic into their five children, of whom Eliot was the last to arrive on 19 April 1903. Young Eliot worked in the bakery, delivered newspapers, did well at Fenger High School on Chicago's South Side, and enjoyed reading; particularly mysteries. He always dressed unusually well, prompting school friends to tease him with the nickname 'Elegant Mess'. When his eldest sister, Clara, married a man named Alexander Jamie, who worked for the US Treasury Department in the Prohibition Bureau, Ness found his greatest role model. Jamie proved a profound formative influence on Ness, encouraging his passion for stories of law enforcement and detective work, as well as teaching him to shoot.

Ness graduated from the University of Chicago in 1925 with a first class degree in political science, commerce and business administration, and spent a year as an investigator for the Retail Credit Company in Chicago. He returned to academia for postgraduate work with August Vollmer, a pioneer in the nascent field of criminal justice. When his studies were complete in 1928, Jamie, now the chief investigator in the Prohibition Bureau, brought Ness in to work as an agent. Jamie himself would rise to the position of head of the Chicago branch of the FBI.

By 1928, Al Capone was at the peak of his power (see p96), not realising that the only way from there was down. The first signs of his descent were already visible. He'd tried and failed to leave Chicago and expand his operations further afield. New Chicago chief of police, Mike Hughes, had put hundreds more officers on the streets as part of his promise to crack down on mob activity. And Herbert Hoover, the new president of the Chicago Crime Commission (and future US president), was determined to bring Capone to book. Chicago's mayor might still have been turning a blind eye to Capone, but the rest of the establishment had had enough of living under his shadow. Hoover brought in US attorney George EQ Johnson to handle the situation, and Johnson in turn tapped Treasury Department chief Elmer Irey and IRS agent Frank Wilson to launch a detailed investigation into Capone's financial affairs. The second point of Johnson's two-pronged attack on Capone was an assault on his actual operations: crippling them while they were in progress.

The stars of the US television crime programme *The Untouchables* left-right, Abel Fernandez, Paul Picerni, Robert Stack playing Eliot Ness and Nicholas Georgiade

For the latter, Johnson recruited Ness to put together a team. Ness had already garnered himself a reputation as a 'boy scout' who could not be corrupted. At this time in Chicago, vast numbers of law enforcement officers were on the take, but Ness had turned down an offer of $2,000 a week (almost as much as Ness earned in a year) from Capone himself to keep the illegal status quo in which the booze illicitly flowed. "I may only be a poor baker's son," he's reputed to have said, "but Eliot Ness can't be bought: not for two thousand a week, ten thousand or a hundred thousand. Not for all the money they'll ever lay their scummy hands on." The outfit Ness eventually put together was formed of a dozen men including himself, who Ness hand-picked from more than 50 applicants. These were men who, like Ness, had proved they could not be intimidated or bribed. Recruited from around the country, several were World War I veterans chosen for specialist skills that complemented those of the rest of the squad.

"I ticked off the general qualities I desired," Ness later described in his autobiography. "[The men should be] single, no older than 30, [with] both the mental and physical stamina to work long hours and the courage and ability to use fist or gun and special investigative techniques. I needed a good telephone man, one who could tap a wire with speed and precision. I needed men who were excellent drivers, for much of our success would depend upon how expertly they could tail the mob's cars and trucks... and fresh faces from other divisions who were not known to the Chicago mobsters."

This band of incorruptible tough guys was almost immediately dubbed 'The Untouchables' by a Chicago newspaper. The name stuck, and while the work that actually brought Capone to book – the rather prosaic business of exposing his tax evasion – was carried on behind closed doors by the methodical Irey and Wilson, Ness and his Untouchables went about making headlines with showier stunts. They were certainly a successful irritant to Capone, but they were essentially a public relations operation. It worked. Where Capone had managed to get a reputation as a Robin Hood figure in some circles, even somewhat beloved by the media who could always rely on him for a mischievous soundbite, the arrival of the Untouchables changed the popular narrative to one of straight-up good guys vs gangster bad guys and Capone, particularly after the brutal and game-changing St Valentine's Day Massacre (see p.104) was on the wrong side. The principal source of Capone's income was the breweries that produced his illegal liquor, so Ness and his men immediately began to stake out the speakeasies where Capone's booze was sold, in order to follow the trucks that delivered the barrels back to their points of origin. Once a brewery was conclusively identified (some were huge, taking up multiple stories in their buildings), Ness hit upon the shock-and-awe tactic of smashing through its doors in a flatbed truck with a snowplough mounted on the front. The speed and violence of this procedure gave those inside the buildings no time to get away, and indeed, no warning that a raid was even imminent. Capone's stunned employees were forced to simply stand idly by as Ness and his Untouchables destroyed stockpiled barrels of beer and whiskey, allowing the contents – and Capone's profits – to seep away into the earth.

CAPONE AND NESS FINALLY MET WHEN NESS WAS ONE OF THE OFFICERS WHO ESCORTED CAPONE TO THE TRAIN TAKING HIM TO JAIL

Capone and his men were no longer safe to operate out in the open without fear of arrest. The trucks had to go, with the rather less efficient system of smuggling barrels in ordinary-sized cars – which could only carry about four at a time – replacing them. Records of conservations obtained through Ness's wire taps revealed Capone was becoming rattled, not least because he was fighting opponents he didn't understand. If they couldn't be bribed or strong-armed, then what were his options? One story has two of Ness's team having packets of money thrown at them through their car windows, to which their response was to chase down their surprise benefactors and throw the money back at them. There

Confiscated distillery equipment during Prohibition

Detectives examining remains of Cleveland Torso Murderer victims, 1938

Chicago cops investigating in 1929

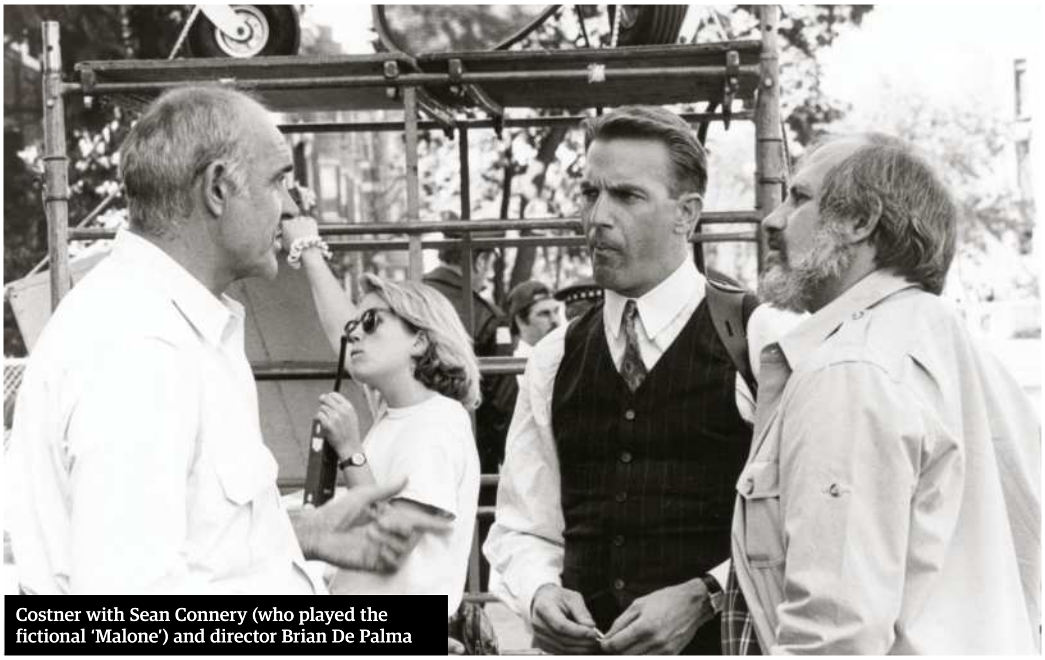
“WHILE THE UNTOUCHABLES WERE OUT MAKING A NOISE, FRANK WILSON, ENTIRELY SEPARATELY, WAS PUTTING IN THE WORK THAT WOULD REALLY ‘GET’ CAPONE”

were attempts on Ness’s life and the lives of his men. But Ness’s response was to doggedly and methodically continue on his chosen course of action. He organised a parade of Capone’s confiscated trucks to be driven past Capone’s own hotel. Reports of Capone’s fury became legendary. But when a tapped phone conversation revealed that one speakeasy had run dry because there was no booze that could be delivered there, Ness knew he was winning.

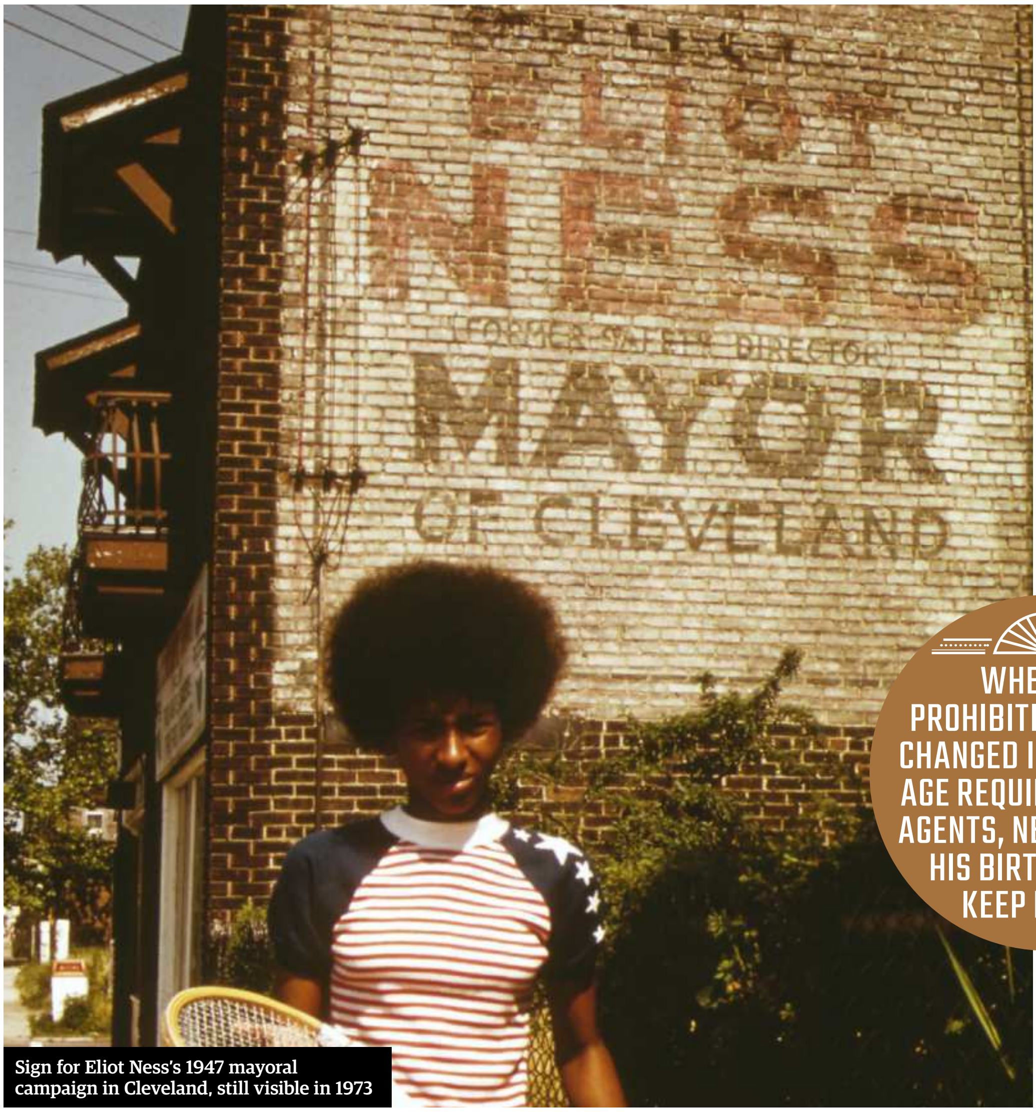
The issue remained, however, that these were still PR victories, rather than events that would result in Capone’s ultimate downfall. Prohibition was an unpopular law, and the feeling among Chicago’s legal community was that the public, and by extension any jury, might still be lenient towards Capone in a court setting, given that his activities were ultimately providing something people wanted: alcoholic drinks. What the public couldn’t abide was a tax cheat, so it was on that basis that Capone was finally indicted. While the Untouchables were out making a noise, Frank Wilson, entirely separately, was putting in the work that would really ‘get’ Capone. The gangster, if he was concerned about anything, was worried about staving off potential murder charges. He wasn’t giving much thought to his tax irregularities.

Wilson, like Ness, carried an excellent reputation within his own field of expertise. His colleague Elmer L Irey said that Wilson “fears nothing that walks,” and would “sit quietly looking at books eighteen hours a day, seven days a week, forever, if he wants to find something.” Wilson’s exhaustive trawl through any document possibly remotely pertaining to Capone’s financial operations eventually led to the discovery of a significant interest in a greyhound racing track, the ledgers of which occasionally mentioned large payments to someone referred to only as ‘Al’. Wilson spent three weeks checking documents from bank deposits to voter registrations in a meticulous attempt to identify the handwriting in the ‘Al’ notes, and, incredibly, finally did so via a deposit slip from a Cicero bank. The scrawl belonged to a bookkeeper named Shumway, who agreed to testify about this subsection of Capone’s income. While Ness was out smashing distilleries, the seeds of Capone’s downfall were actually sown by some small pieces of paper.

In Cicero a man named Reis was identified as making huge deposits of cash (in sacks), which he converted to cashier’s cheques and filtered back directly to Capone.


Costner with Sean Connery (who played the fictional ‘Malone’) and director Brian De Palma

Two men destroying barrels of confiscated booze with axes, 1929



Sign for Eliot Ness's 1947 mayoral campaign in Cleveland, still visible in 1973

Reis too was strong-armed into testifying. Capone noticed that Shumway and Reis had both apparently disappeared (presumably into protective custody), caught wind of the financial investigation, and actually hired assassins to kill Wilson. He called off the hit when he learned that his thugs were already known to the State Attorney's office and might end up incriminating him further. Finally, with Wilson's Treasury Department case deemed rock solid, Capone was indicted on 23 counts of tax evasion by a grand jury in June 1931. He was given an 11-year sentence on the brutal prison rock of Alcatraz, and his reign was over.

Ness was still a young man of 28, and found himself in the peculiar position of being renowned as the man who brought down Capone, while having done no such thing. After all of Ness's showmanship in battling Capone, the gangster's real demise must have seemed anticlimactic to the fresh-faced agent. The Untouchables were disbanded to go their separate ways, and Ness continued working at Chicago's Prohibition Bureau, where he was promoted to chief investigator. And when Prohibition was repealed in 1933, he became an alcohol tax agent in the Appalachian mountains of south Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee: nicknamed the 'moonshine mountains' due to their reputation as notorious outposts of renegade hooch stills. He averaged an incredible one-a-day rate for the shutting down of illegal bootlegging operations. Within a year there were almost none still operating in the Appalachians.

WHEN THE PROHIBITION BUREAU CHANGED ITS MINIMUM AGE REQUIREMENT FOR AGENTS, NESS ALTERED HIS BIRTH DATE TO KEEP HIS JOB

Ness transferred to Cleveland, Ohio in 1934, and a year later Mayor Harold Burton hired him as the city's safety director in charge of the police and fire departments. His appointment was enthusiastically reported by the press, with whom Ness maintained the cordial relationships that had benefitted him in Chicago. "If any man knows the inside of the crime situation here," raved one editorial, "his name is Ness. The mere announcement of his selection is worth a squadron of police in the effect it will have on the underworld's peace of mind."

Burton had been elected on a law-and-order platform, pledging war on organised crime and on corruption within his own police and fire departments. Ness immediately set about cleaning up the town for him. The sloppy, disorganised and often dishonest law enforcement institutions at that time in Cleveland were initially unimpressed with Ness, who appeared mild-mannered and bookish on first meeting. But they soon realised they had underestimated him. To those who were on the level he was fair, making sure they knew his door was always open, and striving to provide them with equipment that they may previously have lacked due to underfunding or legislative indifference. Those he found to be morally compromised, however, found themselves the subject of intense investigations, with Ness even employing wiretaps just as he had in Chicago. He hired a new team of 'untouchables', this time known as the 'Secret Six', sourced from outside Cleveland and therefore with no ties of loyalty within the Cleveland

TRUTH VS FICTION

ELIOT NESS LEFT A LEGACY OF ACTION-PACKED CRIME-BUSTING STORIES, BUT THE FICTION IS A BIT MORE EXCITING THAN THE FACTS…

The Untouchables gave their name to a successful television series in the late 1950s and early 1960s, which in turn inspired Brian De Palma's blockbuster 1987 movie. Kevin Costner starred as Eliot Ness in the film, with Robert De Niro as Al Capone. Beyond the two central characters, however, there was little in it that could genuinely be called a true story.

In the film there are only four Untouchables and apart from Ness, none of them was truly a member of the squad. Sean Connery's 'Malone' is in some part based on the Irish-American Martin J Lahart (in reality a much younger man at the time). But Charles Martin Smith's accountant character 'Oscar Wallace' is essentially supposed to be Frank Wilson, who wasn't an Untouchable at all. His presence in the movie team is a convenient way to fold Capone's eventual arrest for tax evasion into the narrative of the Untouchables themselves. In reality, the work of Ness and Wilson was entirely separate.

Capone and Ness never met prior to the trial, while the film has them sharing scenes on a number of occasions. Ness is depicted as having a wife and daughter, when he was actually single for the two years the Untouchables were operating. And in the film, Ness kills Capone's enforcer Frank Nitti (Billy Drago) by throwing him from a roof. No such thing really happened: in fact, Nitti continued to run Capone's remaining operations after Capone went to Alcatraz. He committed suicide in 1943 when he learned the law was closing in on him.

Police Department. He promoted honest and capable officers and demoted crooked and incompetent ones (he even busted the head of the Detective Bureau, Emmet Potts, down to traffic duty).

"With an innocent smile, this scientific sleuth recently rounded up 100 witnesses, convicted two police captains of taking bribes and indicted seven other guardians of the law," boasted a 1937 *American Magazine* article on Ness's behalf. "(He has) personally led raids on gangsters, gamblers, and vice barons, and brings back industries driven from Cleveland by racketeers. He has ousted incompetents and political hangers-on from the police, fire and building departments and taught the 'boys' that it's dynamite to mess with Ness-men!"

Taking a hands-on approach, he visited every one of the precincts under his control. "I am not going to be a remote director," he promised. "I'll cover this town pretty well." And he wasn't just concerned with Internal Affairs. Perhaps his greatest achievement of this period was the shutting down of mob gambling den The Harvard Club, despite it being technically outside his jurisdiction. While not a spectacular takedown, the raid nevertheless resulted in the arrests of 20 gangsters and the closing of a notorious establishment. The press were on hand to take pictures of Ness at the scene and trumpet that Ness's trademark brand of mob busting had come to Cleveland. The PR machine was still working.

But sadly for Ness, he had peaked early and his career in Cleveland began a steep decline in the 1940s. His reputation for moral probity took a hit when he went through a messy divorce (he first married in 1929 and would marry twice more in the next two decades). He became well known as an enthusiastic social drinker, the irony of which was not lost on a press well acquainted with his erstwhile career enforcing Prohibition. And when he was involved in a drunk-driving accident, the man who had spent years trying to root out corruption in the police department tried unsuccessfully to get the incident covered up. He was forced to resign his position as Cleveland's safety director in the resultant scandal.

He next moved to Washington, DC where he worked for the federal government, specifically targeting prostitution around US military bases. He also attempted a number of business start-ups, all of which failed. He eventually became chairman of the Diebold Corporation, which manufactured safes, and by 1947 he was back in Cleveland in an ill-advised bid to get elected as mayor. He was resoundingly defeated by a majority of two to one, having burned through his savings and racked up significant debts during the campaign. Diebold expelled him from its board, and the final jobs of his life were comparatively menial: he ended up selling wholesale electronic components and frozen hamburgers to restaurants. Finally, he ended up in the rural town of Coudersport, Pennsylvania: his just-about extant reputation as a law enforcement expert having landed him a position with a company that specialised in watermarking documents to prevent counterfeiting. In that small town he became a relatively big personality once again, even if it was only as a raconteur in bars, telling the stories of his glory days in Chicago.

While Ness is often seen as the man who brought down Capone, it was in fact Frank J Wilson and his team

Encouraged by the reactions, he began collaborating on an autobiography with United Press International sports reporter, Oscar Fraley. Much embellished, *The Untouchables* was full of action: gun battles and car chases and noble men standing up for what was right in the face of despicable villainy from gangsters and crooked cops with no respect for the law. In 1931 Chester Gould had created Dick Tracy using the young Ness as inspiration. Now, in 1957, Ness was reinventing his own life story in Dick Tracy's image.

Ness died from a heart attack that same year at the age of 54, and his book was published posthumously. It created a sensation, selling 1.5 million copies and inspiring first a successful TV series and, 30 years later, a movie immediately regarded as a modern classic. The 'Eliot Ness' in the public mind today is arguably more Kevin Costner than it is the real man. But after his later-life fall from grace, the real Ness would no doubt be more than happy that his legend as an American hero lives on.

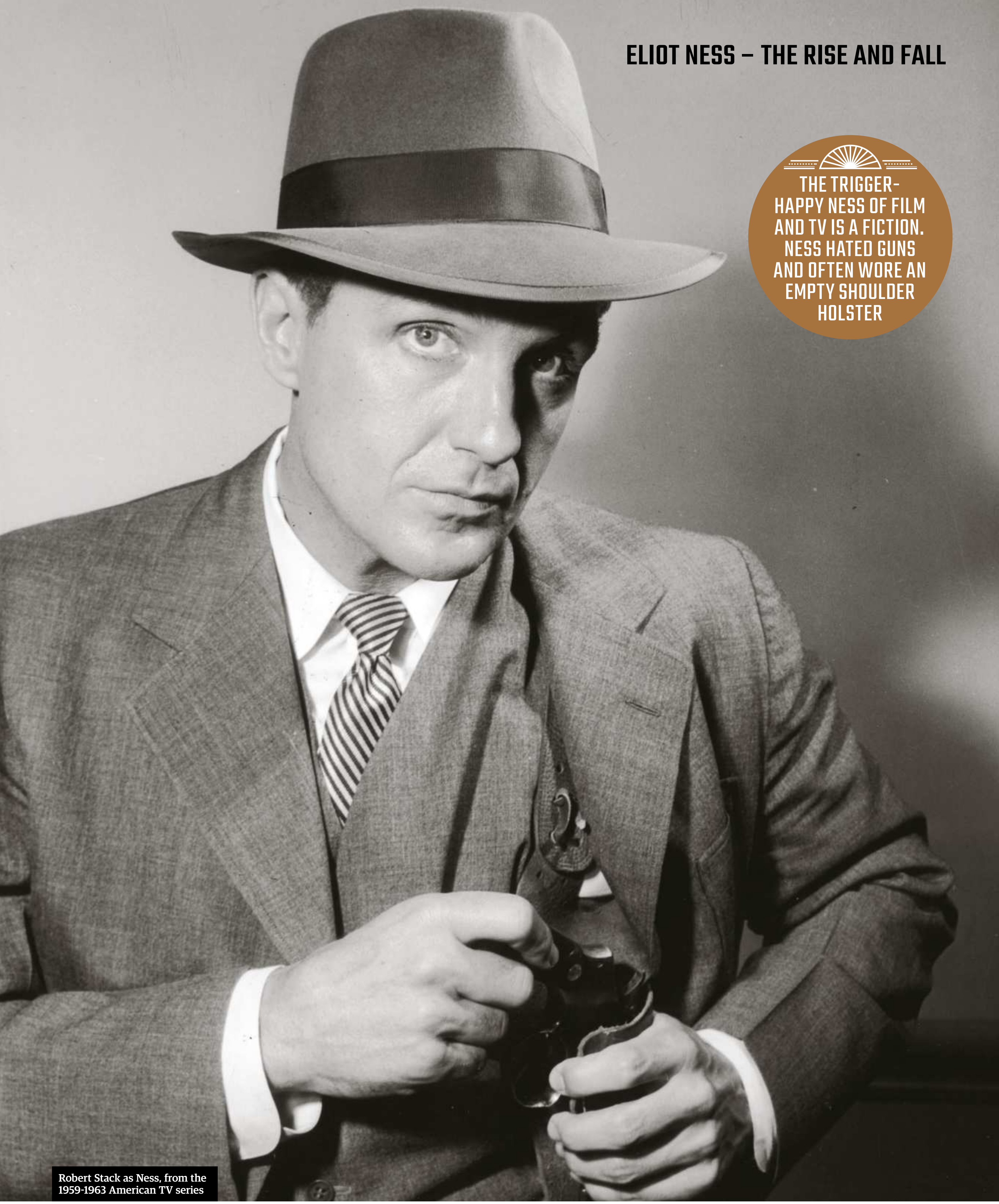
THE CLEVELAND TORSO MURDERER

IN LATER LIFE ELIOT NESS WAS CAUGHT UP IN A GRUESOME SERIAL KILLER INVESTIGATION, WHERE THE RESULTS WERE FRUSTRATINGLY INCONCLUSIVE

Eliot Ness's post-Chicago years in Cleveland saw him involved in perhaps the second-most significant event of his career in law enforcement: the grisly case of a serial killer known as the Cleveland Torso Murderer.

Between 1935 and 1938, 12 known victims – and possibly as many as 20 – were murdered. All were decapitated and most were further dismembered: some to the extent that their torsos were cut in half. The killer showed no preference between male and female victims, but all were from the Depression-era social substrata dubbed the 'working poor', forced to live in the notorious Cleveland shantytown Kingsbury Run. The killer appeared to deliberately taunt safety director Ness when he left two of the bodies in places clearly visible from Ness's office. Ness's response was to raid Kingsbury Run, taking 35 officers with him to round up 63 of its homeless inhabitants before burning the shanty down. His actions were much criticised, but the killings did appear to cease in the wake of the fire and demolition. The killer, however, was never identified. Ness arrested a well-connected doctor named Francis Sweeney, who had performed amputations during WWI and failed two lie detector tests. But Ness could not put together a successful prosecution case and was forced to let Sweeney walk. A year later a bricklayer named Frank Dolezal confessed, but likely only as a result of police brutality. He committed suicide before a trial could take place.

No further suspects were ever identified, and the case remains officially unsolved.



THE TRIGGER-HAPPY NESS OF FILM AND TV IS A FICTION. NESS HATED GUNS AND OFTEN WORE AN EMPTY SHOULDER HOLSTER

Robert Stack as Ness, from the 1959-1963 American TV series

LAST ORDERS

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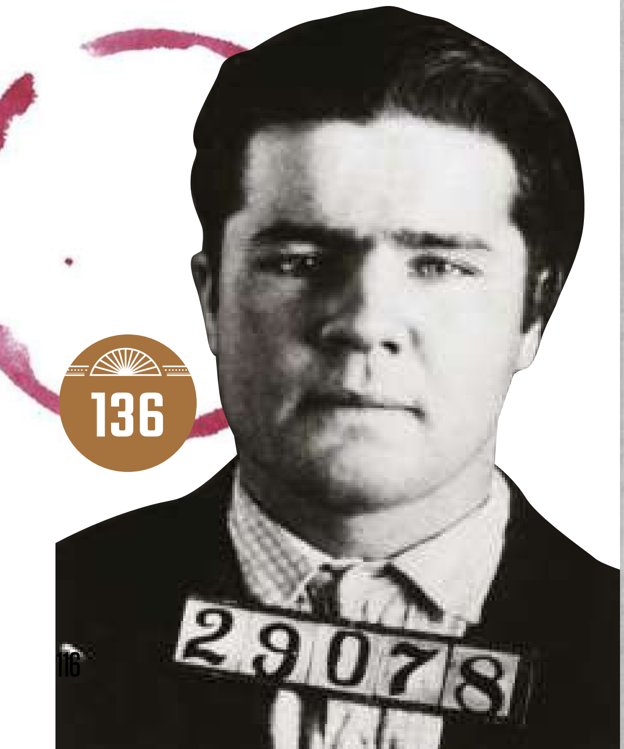

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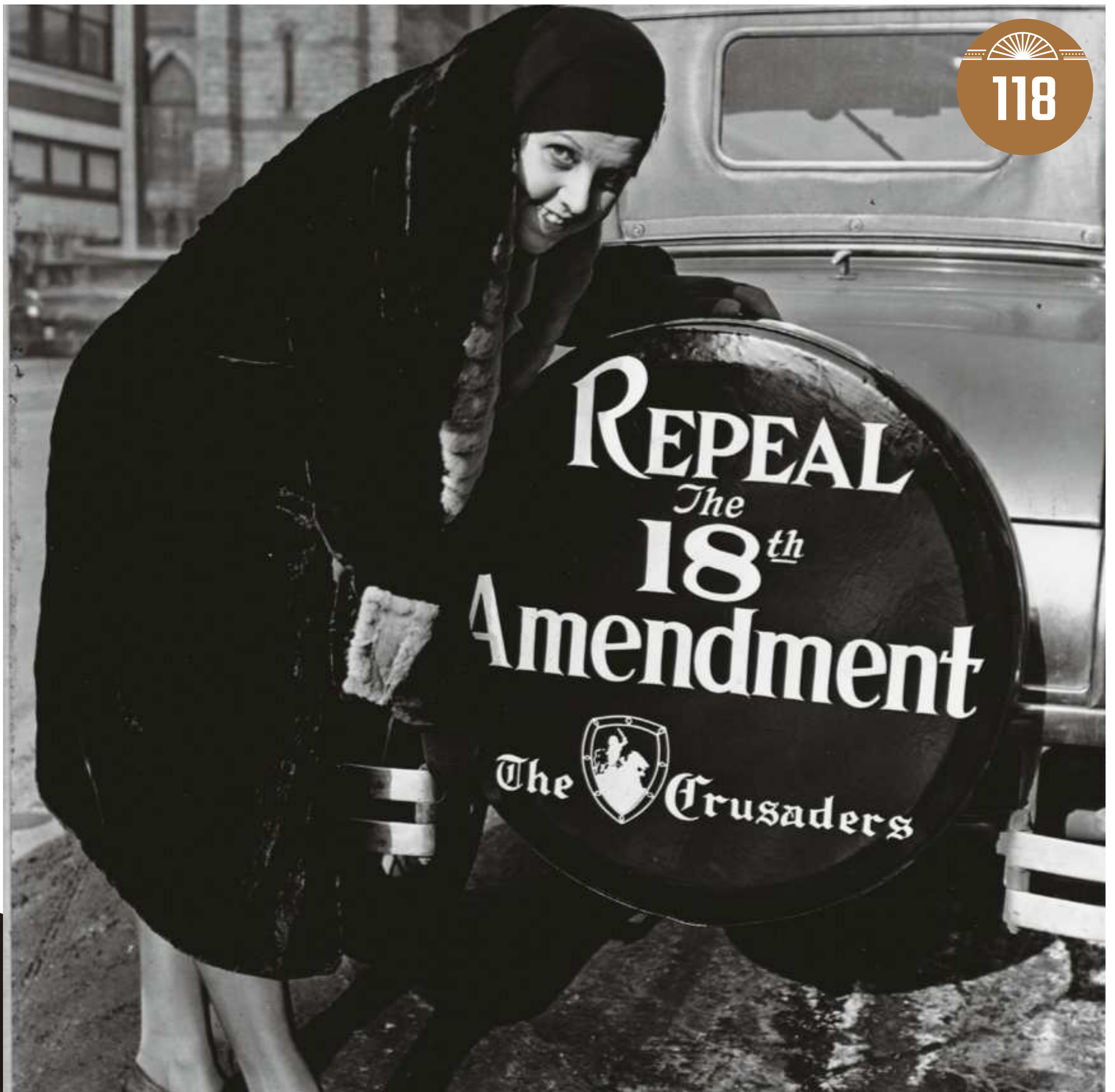

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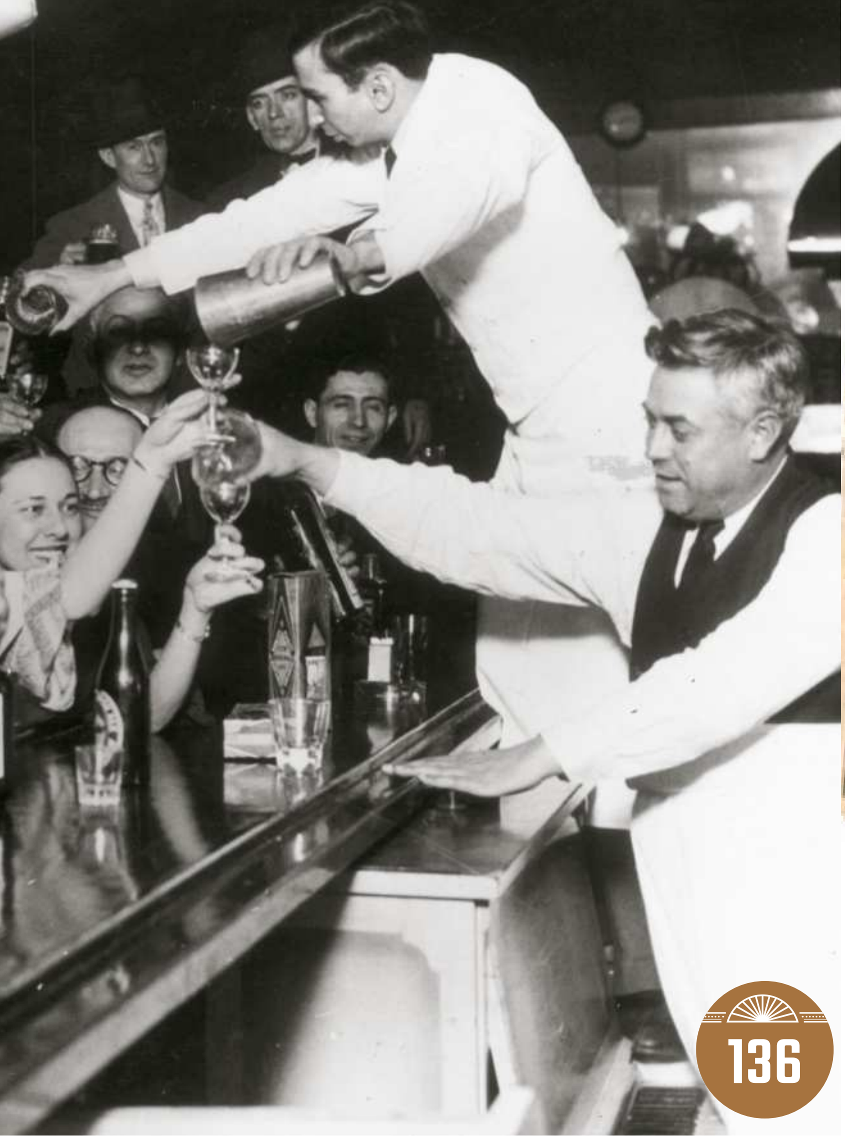

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$100 WILL BUY THIS CAR MUST HAVE CASH LOST ALL IN THE STOCK MARKET

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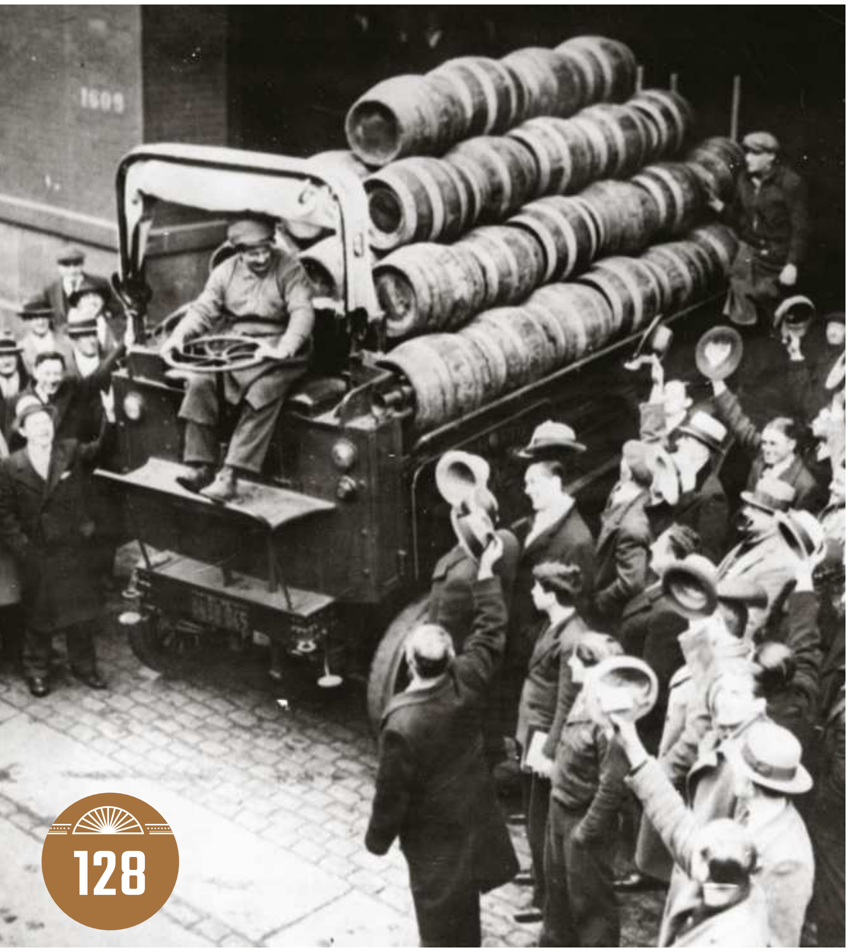

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THE FIGHT FOR A DRINK

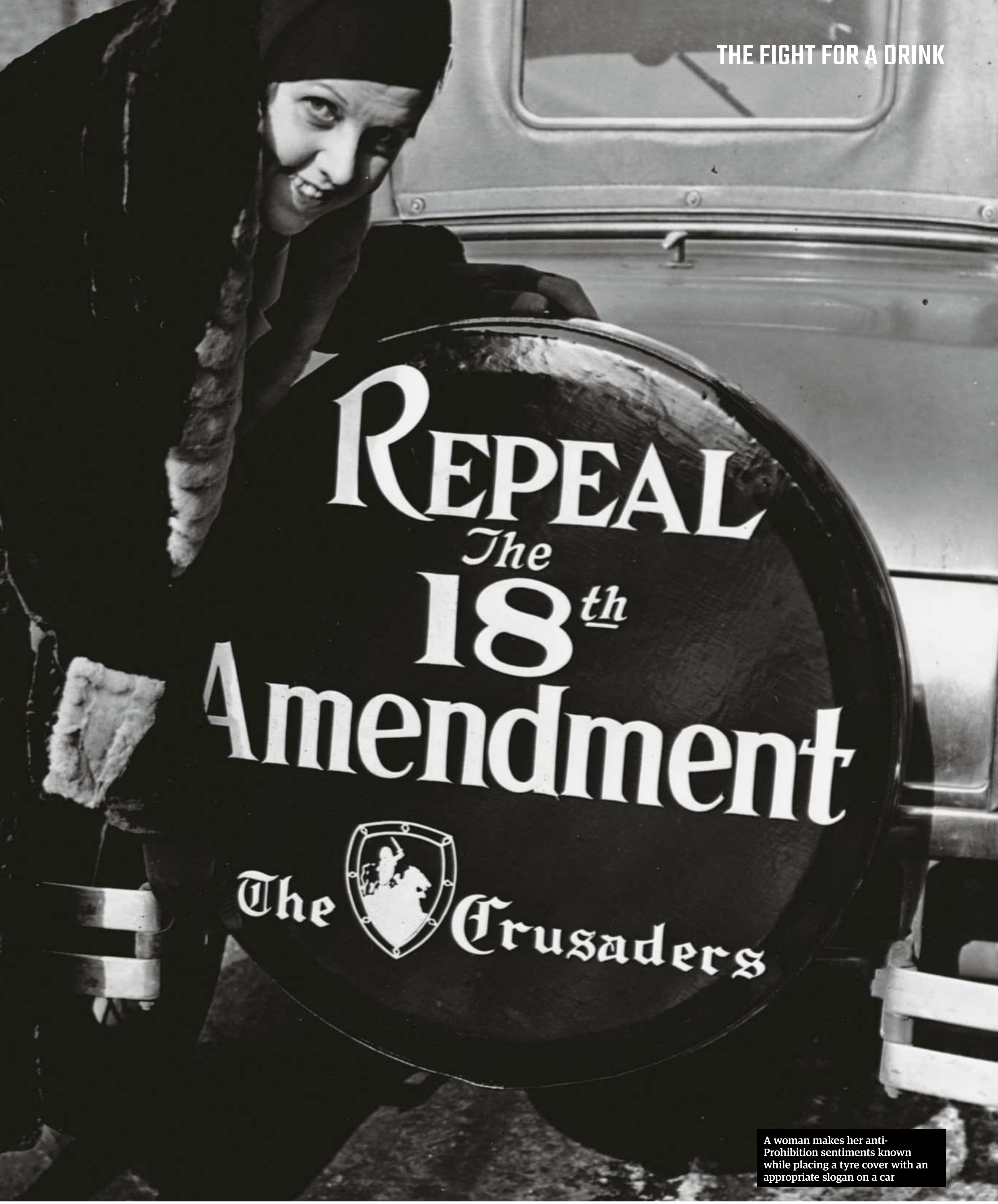
ALTHOUGH THEY WERE TEMPORARILY OUTMANOEUVRED BY THE PROHIBITION MOVEMENT, THOSE WHO ADVOCATED THE LEGALISED SALE AND CONSUMPTION OF ALCOHOL EVENTUALLY PREVAILED

The famous Budweiser Clydesdales stepped with a lively gait into the streets of St Louis, Missouri, home of the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Company, and embarked on a nationwide tour to promote their product. Their journey included the delivery of a case of beer to the White House in Washington, DC.

The Anheuser-Busch campaign began on 7 April 1933, just three weeks after the US Congress amended the Volstead Act to redefine the limits of 'intoxicating' beverages – in this case beer. The minimum standard was raised from 0.5 per cent alcohol by volume to 3.2 per cent. Beer was back, and President Franklin D Roosevelt quickly signed the Cullen-Harrison Act, commonly called the 'Beer Bill', into law. "I think this would be a good time for a beer," he quipped.

By the end of the year, Prohibition itself was only a memory. The 21st Amendment to the Constitution repealed the law against the sale, transport and consumption of alcohol effective on 5 December 1933. After 13 years, it was legal to buy and sell alcohol again in the United States. During most of the 'dry' years, the possibility of repealing the 18th Amendment that had brought Prohibition into being in 1920 seemed remote. However, as the years wore on, those who opposed Prohibition in the first place were never completely silenced. The unintended consequences of the measure also weighed upon its continuation.

While Prohibition was intended to eradicate the use and abuse of alcoholic beverages in the United States, and along with that solve many of the ills that plagued modern society – drunkenness, health-related issues, domestic


REPEAL
The
18th
Amendment
The Crusaders

A woman makes her anti-Prohibition sentiments known while placing a tyre cover with an appropriate slogan on a car violence and lost productivity – the plain truth was that such improvements were fleeting if they occurred at all. While statistical evidence supports assertions that alcohol consumption declined in the early days of Prohibition, the pace did eventually pick up again. At the same time, those who had to have a drink were determined to find one, and those who saw opportunities to make a dollar were willing to break the law, if necessary, to provide that drink.

Organised crime came into its own during Prohibition, while otherwise law-abiding citizens became lawbreakers if they bought or sold alcohol. The advent of the speakeasy even glamourised the illegal drinking of liquor, and the social phenomenon of the Roaring Twenties flourished because of it. Over time, those benefits promised by Prohibition advocates proved elusive. Corruption among law enforcement officers and elected officials was rampant as gangsters paid them to turn a blind eye to the black market activity in alcohol.

Although statistics assert that violent crime levels remained constant, the gang wars and ruthless murders of rival mobsters grabbed newspaper headlines and created an impression among average Americans that major cities were essentially lawless. The graduated federal income tax approved in 1913 was unpopular, and it had been supported by Prohibition advocates as a substitute for the loss of alcohol-related tax revenue. However, even the income tax volume dropped with the onset of the Great Depression, and the federal government began to see the end of Prohibition as a means of collecting sorely needed funds for its coffers. Basic respect for the law eroded over time, as well as people openly defying anti-alcohol statutes. Tainted alcohol found its way into mixed drinks, and the so-called 'rotgut' killed, crippled and blinded thousands of people. Each of these circumstances undermined the effectiveness and the rationale for Prohibition.

Before and during the Prohibition years, no fewer than 40 organisations mounted opposition to the measure. With names such as the Anti-Dry League, Light Wine and Bear League of America, National Liberty Party, Good Fellows of America and the 1776 Society, these groups were vocal in their opposition to the Prohibitionists, and they exploited each of the weaknesses derived from its enactment.

Among the most prominent anti-Prohibition organisations was the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment (AAPA). Founded by former US Navy Captain William H Stayton in 1918, the AAPA grew substantially in numbers and influence after ratification of the 18th Amendment. Stayton's concerns went beyond the law relating to alcohol and encompassed a genuine worry about overriding federal interference with state and local autonomy. The AAPA included both Republicans and Democrats and carried no specific religious affiliation, and membership required the payment of $1 in annual dues. By 1921, the organisation included 100,000 members, but in the next year its membership increased nearly five times to more than 450,000, and it reached 726,000 in mid 1926.

The AAPA was the largest organisation of its kind, and soon after its inception a gift of $10,000 was received from prominent German-American civil engineer John A Roebling, designer and builder of the Brooklyn Bridge.

ONE ANTI-PROHIBITION LAPEL PIN SUPPORTING FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT FOR PRESIDENT IN 1932 READ "HAPPY DAYS ARE HERE AGAIN"

THE PHARMACY PHENOMENON

MANY RETAIL PHARMACY ESTABLISHMENTS MADE MILLIONS IN PROFITS FROM ALCOHOL SALES DURING PROHIBITION AND EXPANDED THEIR OPERATIONS

Among the unintended consequences of Prohibition was the fascinating enrichment of the retail drugstore industry. For an investment of $6, the average American could obtain alcohol without breaking the law. A visit to the doctor to obtain a $3 prescription and a stop at the corner drugstore to have it filled for another $3 meant the 'patient' could take home their medicinal alcohol in a brown paper bag, and in little more than a week the process could be repeated.

While it is estimated that American physicians earned an astounding $40 million in profits during Prohibition, pharmacists and retail drugstore chains experienced a windfall of revenue through such practices as well. The growth of Walgreens, a familiar brand in the pharmacy line of business today, was tremendous during Prohibition. Headquartered in Chicago, the chain experienced incredible growth during the 1920s, expanding operations from 20 storefronts in 1920 to 525 locations spanning the United States at the end of the decade.

The lion's share of Walgreens' growth, according to the company's management, was due to: an outstanding leadership team and its business acumen; a popular brand of ice cream that was made in Chicago, distributed across the country and sold in the drugstores' soda fountains; and the invention of the malted milkshake by employee Ivar 'Pop' Coulson in 1922. While each of these factors certainly contributed to Walgreens' financial success during the Prohibition era, there is also no doubt that the sale of prescription-approved medicinal alcohol was a prime mover in the meteoric rise in profits experienced by Walgreens and other pharmaceutical retailers.

While he is not busy dispensing alcohol, this Prohibition-era pharmacist is mixing medication with a mortar and pestle

John J Raskob, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, testifies before Congress regarding contributions to the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment

TIME
The Weekly Newsmagazine
Number 3

Pauline Morton Sabin, leader of the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform, makes the cover of *Time* magazine

> "STAYTON'S CONCERNS WENT BEYOND THE LAW RELATING TO ALCOHOL AND ENCOMPASSED A GENUINE WORRY"

Between 1921 and 1926, it raised more than $800,000 to fund efforts that were initially aimed to reform Prohibition, either through more effective enforcement or simply urging people to pay no attention to a law that they believed had failed to achieve any of the results that had been promised.

Stayton mounted an early effort to sway voter opinion against Prohibition; however, he quickly learned that attracting the support of powerful and influential people might be more effective than sheer weight of numbers. Among those who became members of the AAPA were Pierre, Irene and Lammot du Pont, the wealthy leaders of the founding family of EI du Pont de Nemours and Company; John J Raskob, a businessman with du Pont and General Motors, who was responsible for the construction of the Empire State Building in New York; James W Wadsworth, a Republican politician and US congressman and senator from New York who had predicted a widespread wave of crime and civil contempt for the law before Prohibition was enacted; and Henry H Curran, editor of the *New York Tribune* newspaper and a prominent local politician.

As the AAPA matured, Stayton became the chairman of the board that included these luminaries, while Curran functioned as president, and real authority rested with an executive committee led by Pierre du Pont. The well-financed and organised group gained further influence when Raskob became the national chairman of the Democratic Party and worked to forge a political stance for repeal of the 18th Amendment within it. Active in the publication of propaganda, the AAPA produced several pamphlets during a publicity campaign in 1928 to galvanise the opposition to Prohibition. Among these was *Prohibition Enforcement: Its Effects on Courts and Prisons*, which detailed the cost of maintaining a prison and court system overloaded with alcohol-related offenders that clogged jails and hopelessly jammed dockets. Other AAPA publications were *Reforming America with a Shotgun: A Study of Prohibition Killings*, revealing the number of murders that had taken place during efforts to enforce Prohibition, and *Canadian Liquor Crossing the Border*, which asserted that only five to ten per cent of more than one million gallons of Canadian whiskey being smuggled across the border annually was actually being intercepted.

In 1932, AAPA president Jouett Shouse, successor to Curran, worked to make repeal of Prohibition a central issue in the presidential campaign after the Democratic Party leadership had agreed to make such legislation a part of its platform. The organisation continued to

WETTEST OF THE WET

MASSACHUSETTS CONGRESSMAN GEORGE TINKHAM OPPOSED PROHIBITION BUT CHAMPIONED VOTING RIGHTS FOR BLACKS IN THE AMERICAN SOUTH

During a Congressional hearing on the topic of Prohibition, Massachusetts Representative George H Tinkham forced Wayne Wheeler, the powerful leader of the Anti-Saloon League, to read aloud the names of organisations that were opposed to the 18th Amendment. The list was long and included more than 25 entities. Tinkham was an outspoken opponent of Prohibition, calling it "unconstitutional, oppressive and tyrannical". He was given the nickname of the 'Wettest Wet in Congress' by the Washington, DC, press corps and also defended the rights of African Americans to vote, chastising Congress for failing to act decisively on the matter and calling the Jim Crow laws then in effect "the most colossal electoral fraud the world has ever known".

Tinkham served in Congress from 1915 to 1943, representing Boston's Back Bay neighbourhood. He was fond of big game hunting, regularly taking long safaris to Africa, and was a veteran of World War I who said that he had fired the first American shot against the Austrians, pulling the lanyard on a 149mm artillery piece. "I did not go there with that particular idea in mind," he said, "but I could not resist the temptation." When Tinkham died, the press eulogised him as the "wettest, most adventurous and most picturesque congressman".

Massachusetts Congressman George H Tinkham was an outspoken opponent of Prohibition and is remembered as one of the 'wettest' lawmakers

distribute pamphlets like *Measuring the Liquor Trade*, which noted that alcoholism and deaths from the disease had increased since Prohibition had been enacted, *The Cost of Prohibition and Your Income Tax*, which described the loss of federal tax revenue due to Prohibition, and *Scandals of Prohibition*, describing the corruption and crime that infected five large cities: Detroit, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Buffalo and Philadelphia. When the time came, attorneys employed by the AAPA assisted in drafting the language of the 21st Amendment, the instrument of Prohibition's demise. They also shepherded the repeal of the 18th Amendment through Congress and guided the states through their portion of the repeal process. After the organisation disbanded in 1933, several of its key members then went on to oppose the increasing authority of central government in President Roosevelt's New Deal, founding the American Liberty League.

The AAPA successfully cooperated with other anti-Prohibition groups, including the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform (WONPR), founded in 1929 by Pauline Morton Sabin. Although Sabin had supported Prohibition earlier, she changed her opinion as the measure seemed incapable of delivering positive reforms. When Ella Alexander Boole, president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), stated during a Congressional hearing, "I represent the women of America!" Sabin thought in response, "Well, lady, here's one woman you don't represent."

Sabin had previously been involved with the Women's National Republican Club and utilised her organisational skills to strengthen the WONPR. One of its early goals was to draw attention to the hypocrisy of those politicians who supported Prohibition in public but continued to drink in private. Committees were also formed to concentrate on different segments of the population, delivering the message of repeal. The WONPR grew to 100,000 members in less than a year, and by the spring of 1931 there were 300,000. By November 1932, it included 1.1 million members, and when Prohibition was finally repealed the membership had climbed to 1.5 million. Some historians claim these numbers were inflated, but even so the WONPR was undoubtedly the largest organisation of its type in the United States, and it was substantially larger than the WCTU.

D Leigh Colvin, chairman of the National Prohibition Committee, called the WONPR "Bacchantian maidens, parching for wine – wet women who, like the drunkards whom their program will produce, would take pennies off the eyes of the dead for the sake of legalizing booze!" Another political enemy screeched at Sabin, "Every evening I get down on my knees and pray to God to damn your soul!" Nevertheless, the WONPR leader was featured on the cover of *Time* magazine's 18 July 1932 edition, just a little more than a year before the repeal of Prohibition.

The strength of the WONPR was deceptive at first, and Prohibition activists certainly underestimated its burgeoning political power. One member of the

Former Prohibition agents Izzy Einstein and Moe Smith drink a toast at the end of Prohibition

Hours after the repeal of Prohibition, crowds of shoppers buy liquor legally at Bloomingdale's department store in New York

President Franklin D Roosevelt drinks wine at a dinner. Roosevelt campaigned for office on repeal of Prohibition

Thousands of flag-waving demonstrators take to the streets of Washington, DC, marching against Prohibition in 1920

THE IMPOSITION OF A FEDERAL INCOME TAX REQUIRED RATIFICATION OF THE 21ST AMENDMENT TO THE US CONSTITUTION

DID THE GOVERNMENT SANCTION MURDER?

INCREASING THE TOXICITY OF INDUSTRIAL ALCOHOL WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY LEAD TO DEATHS, BUT THE US GOVERNMENT ALLOWED IT ANYWAY

Had those elements in society that opposed Prohibition made an issue of government involvement in the increasing toxicity of industrial alcohol with the knowledge that it would lead to deaths, a scandal might have erupted, implicating lawmakers and Prohibition advocates alike. For many years, industrial alcohol had been tainted with highly toxic methanol, or wood alcohol, to prevent its consumption without the payment of taxes. However, during Prohibition a more potent 'denatured' alcohol was introduced to discourage its consumption as a beverage even further. *Time* magazine reported in 1927 that a formula of four parts methanol, 2.25 parts pyridine bases and 0.5 parts benzene for every 100 parts of drinkable ethanol had become the new standard with the government's assent. *Time* also noted that just three drinks of this substance might cause blindness.

Although death was also a by-product of imbibing the industrial alcohol, Anti-Saloon League leader Wayne Wheeler was unconcerned. "The government is under no obligation to furnish the people with alcohol that is drinkable when the Constitution prohibits it," he reasoned. "The person who drinks this industrial alcohol is a deliberate suicide… To root out a bad habit costs many lives and long years of effort." Still, New Jersey Senator Edward Edwards called the practice "legalised murder" and, sure enough, people drank it and died.

After speaking in Washington, Senator Edward Edwards (far left) poses with dignitaries. He called the "denaturing" of industrial alcohol "legalised murder"

Industrialist Pierre du Pont told the US Congress that he favoured the repeal of the 18th Amendment

Methodist Board of Temperance, Prohibition & Public Morals described Sabin's organisation as "a little group of wine-drinking society women who are uncomfortable under Prohibition". Meanwhile, the state head of the Georgia WCTU confidently crowed, "As to Mrs Sabin and her cocktail-drinking women, we will out-live them, out-fight them, out-love them, out-talk them, out-pray them, and out-vote them!" When the end came for Prohibition, this WCTU official found himself to be sadly mistaken. The vote to end the experiment in morality legislation was three to one.

Among other constituents of the anti-Prohibition movement were elements of organised labour and those who saw the 18th Amendment as discriminatory against the immigrants who had come to seek their fortunes in America and brought their European traditions, including the everyday business and consumption that revolved around alcoholic beverages, with them. Others simply believed that Prohibition was an example of government overreach into the private lives of American citizens. They were wary of such federal endeavours and sought redress.

Millions of Americans had innocently enjoyed alcoholic beverages prior to Prohibition, and while the wealthy might be above the law, stocking up on liquor prior to Prohibition and frequenting the speakeasies that sprang up in cities, the ordinary worker was surely to be singled out for trouble when he wanted a drink – even if it was something as ordinary as a glass of wine or beer with his evening meal. Simple possession might spell trouble for the poor and lead to a charge of disorderly conduct. Labour organisations were particularly concerned with the perceived injustice of labelling of beer with an alcohol volume of 0.5 per cent as an 'intoxicating beverage'. Their leaders came to Congress and "gave warning that the tranquillity of the working class may be seriously menaced by enforcement". Prohibition laws, they reasoned, would give rise to civil unrest and promote gang-related crime.

The powerful American Federal of Labor strongly opposed Prohibition and requested an exemption for beer, raising the level of alcohol by volume to 2.75 per cent. Behind it was the overwhelming support of its membership, which voted 26,475 to 4,000 in favour. However, the effort did not succeed.

BEER FOR PROSPERITY
V
F
W
GIVE US BEER & Balance the Budget
It's time to TAP the

A large decorated keg highlights an anti-Prohibition protest that also calls on the federal government to balance its budget

Despite the fact that the Prohibition lobby had gained approval for the 18th Amendment, it seems that the proverbial deck was stacked against the success of the 'noble experiment' from the beginning. With the passage of the Volstead Act, enumerating the regulations under which Prohibition became operational, enforcement was problematic. There were too few federal, state and local law enforcement personnel to effectively bring criminals to justice, and when one was tried, convicted and jailed, others rapidly took his place. Bootleggers, rum runners and smugglers had a field day, while the face of organised crime changed markedly. Those who participated in the trafficking of alcoholic beverages during Prohibition reaped enormous profits and seldom were undone.

The elements of criminal activity, the hedonism of the Roaring Twenties, the sudden onset of the Great Depression that compelled the federal government to seek renewed sources of tax revenue, and the general fatigue of a populace that just wanted to have a drink without breaking the law conspired to spell the end of Prohibition. The steady and methodical anti-Prohibitionists had failed to stop the ratification of the 18th Amendment, but they had persevered, exercised power and prevailed in the long run. The Prohibition era nevertheless left an indelible mark on American society, changing the social landscape forever, and in something of an ironic twist its legacy resides more in the ancillary transformation of the country than in any real, lasting success in its intended purpose.

Americans sought any improvement in their morale and fortunes. Repealing Prohibition in 1933 was cause for celebration

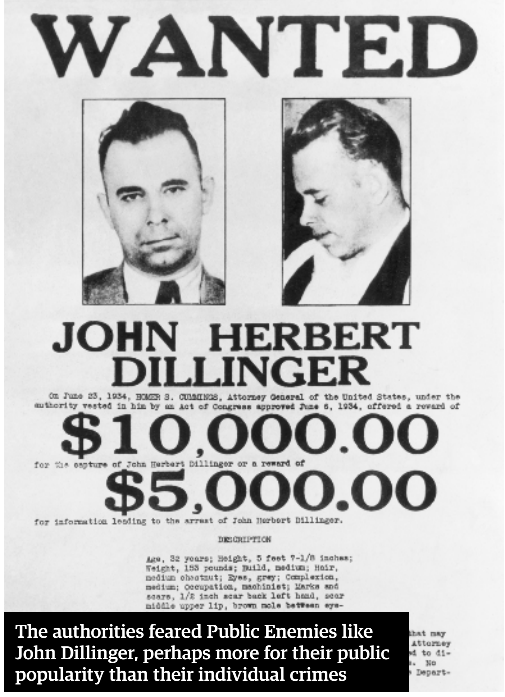
ROLL OUT THE BARRELS

VIOLENCE AND BLOODSHED DISCREDITED PROHIBITION, BUT DIDN'T END IT BY ITSELF. THE WALL STREET CRASH, GREAT DEPRESSION, POLITICS AND CULTURE ALSO PLAYED THEIR PARTS

The end of Prohibition was dictated by several different factors and none by itself was enough. It wasn't as simple as changing a mere law. The Volstead Act was also the 18th Amendment to the US Constitution, and repeal, the 21st Amendment, took a while to arrange politically. Even after national Prohibition ended in 1933 individual states were left to draw their own lines under the alcohol issue. Some embraced repeal almost instantly while others took a harder line. Mississippi, last of the hold-outs, remained a dry state until 1966. Even today, many counties remain dry under their own local laws and ordinances, including Moore County in Tennessee, which ironically is the site of the Jack Daniel's distillery.

The Wall Street Crash of 1929 and the Great Depression changed America's political and social landscape even more than Prohibition. In a matter of days, America had gone into financial meltdown followed by a spiralling economic crisis. Millions lost their money, jobs and homes. Many took to the highways and railroads looking for any kind of work or even just the possibility of a paying job. Thousands of businesses folded. So severe was the Crash of 1929 that American share prices didn't recover to pre-Crash levels until 1954.

Even hundreds of smaller banks collapsed. Few Americans had much sympathy for bankers who they blamed squarely for the crisis. Politicians, many Americans believed, had sat by and allowed



WANTED

JOHN HERBERT
DILLINGER

On June 23, 1934, HOMER S. CUMMINGS, Attorney General of the United States, under the authority vested in him by an Act of Congress approved June 6, 1934, offered a reward of

$10,000.00

for the capture of John Herbert Dillinger or a reward of

$5,000.00

for information leading to the arrest of John Herbert Dillinger.

DESCRIPTION

Age, 32 years; Height, 5 feet 7-1/8 inches; Weight, 153 pounds; Build, medium; Hair, medium chestnut; Eyes, grey; Complexion, medium; Occupation, machinist; Marks and scars, 1/2 inch scar back left hand, scar middle upper lip, brown mole between eye-

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Attorney
ed to di-
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Depart-

The authorities feared Public Enemies like John Dillinger, perhaps more for their public popularity than their individual crimes

bankers and financiers to ruin the American economy. President Franklin Roosevelt had a huge job on his hands even trying to stabilise America's economy, let alone restore any semblance of prosperity or public faith in America's political and corporate leaders. As material conditions worsened, so did the ordinary American's attitude to those they held responsible.

It was hoped that ending Prohibition might ease public mistrust and hostility while generating jobs and investment and raising tax revenues. It would also remove the national health problems associated with lethal 'bathtub gin' and similar toxic brews by removing them from the marketplace. With legal drinks available once again, Americans would turn away from the potentially deadly bathtub gin offered by the bootleggers.

The Crash and Depression alone didn't boost Prohibition's popularity any more than Prohibition cured America's perceived drink problem. They did provide powerful impetus for repeal, though. The return of legal alcohol was a vote-winner in itself. Potential revenues generated through taxes and investment were incredibly attractive to a cash-strapped federal government. Anything that boosted employment and put America on the road to economic recovery was more than welcome.

Prohibition, in addition to all its other problems and failures, wasn't going to do that. Repeal, on the other hand, would be popular and have genuine benefits for all Americans, not just those at the top. As the beer and wine flowed so would investment, employment and revenues rebound, and it would provide a much-needed boost to national morale. National recovery appealed as much to Roosevelt as to ordinary Americans, and FDR wanted his name and New Deal firmly associated with it.

STOCK-CAR RACING GREW OUT OF BOOTLEGGERS CUSTOMISING THEIR CARS TO OUTRUN POLICE AND REVENUE MEN

Politically, repeal wasn't the burning issue of the day, with millions unemployed, often homeless and going anywhere there even might be work, anyway. It was enough of an issue to register with voters and in Washington. FDR might have been one of America's more principled politicians, but he was still a politician. He needed to sell repeal and his New Deal to an audience tired of politicians' promises and bankers' bungling. So many banks failed that robbers often raided them without knowing they'd already run out of money.

$100 WILL BUY THIS CAR MUST HAVE CASH LOST ALL ON THE STOCK MARKET

From all to nothing. Even America's wealthiest and most prosperous were wiped out by the Wall Street Crash of 1929

Crime hadn't become any less of an issue after 1929, either. Granted, bootleggers had largely had their day, but that of the Public Enemies had only just dawned. Worse from Washington's point of view, many bank robbers, kidnappers and killers of the 'Crime Wave' cut their teeth during Prohibition and garnered alarming levels of public

"THE CRASH AND DEPRESSION ALONE DIDN'T BOOST PROHIBITION'S POPULARITY ANY MORE THAN PROHIBITION CURED AMERICA'S PERCEIVED DRINK PROBLEM"

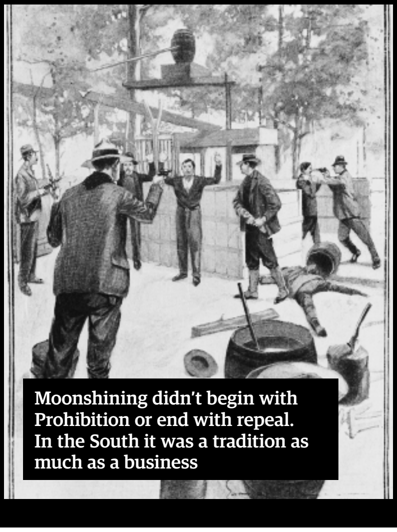
BOOTLEGGING DURING THE DEPRESSION

PROHIBITION HAD CREATED WIDESPREAD CONTEMPT FOR LAW AND ORDER. REPEAL DIDN'T STOP SOME BOOTLEGGERS, ESPECIALLY IN THE SOUTH, FROM CONTINUING THEIR TRADE

Moonshining was a Southern tradition long before the Civil War, never mind the Wall Street Crash, Prohibition or the Great Depression. None of those events prevented this illicit industry from flourishing, if anything they encouraged it. With a ready-made market and plenty of secluded spots to hide stills Southerners regarded it as a part of their history and culture.

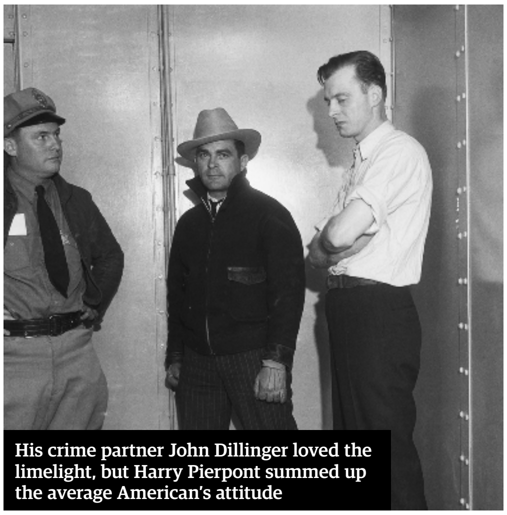
Moonshiners worked in secret and often by night, hence their nickname. They flourished during Prohibition, evaded federal taxes after repeal and had frequent firefights with local law officers and federal 'revenue men.' The 'whiskey cars' driven by moonshiners eventually spawned stock-car racing and NASCAR.

Moonshining was often a family affair passed down the generations. Fathers taught their sons to make potent, cheap moonshine that was often far safer than bathtub gin offered by urban bootleggers. Before Prohibition even became an issue, let alone federal law, they were hard at work and still are. The federal government still pursues them, raiding stills and stockpiles to this day.



Moonshining didn't begin with Prohibition or end with repeal. In the South it was a tradition as much as a business

One notorious moonshiner was from Meriweather County, Georgia. John Wallace came from wealthy Southern stock, owning a huge plantation known locally as 'The Kingdom.' For decades, Wallace let moonshiners operate on his land for a large cut of their profits. They had little choice but to obey. After murdering William Turner over an unauthorised liquor run in April 1948 Wallace was convicted and in 1950. He was the first white Georgian executed on the evidence of black witnesses.


His crime partner John Dillinger loved the limelight, but Harry Pierpont summed up the average American's attitude

support during the Depression. The Public Enemies were a new breed of media-friendly criminals whose sprees delighted newspaper and newsreel audiences for years. They did wonders for the newspaper and newsreel industries as well. Men like John Dillinger were robbing (and occasionally kidnapping for ransom) the same bankers many Americans felt had already robbed them. Executed for murder in 1934, bank robber and Dillinger associate Harry Pierpont spoke for many ordinary people when he said: "At least I didn't become president of the bank first. You'd probably be like me if you had the nerve."

Sympathetic to people losing homes and businesses, 'Pretty Boy' Floyd destroyed mortgage papers during bank robberies. Aware that public sympathy mattered - and that banks were insured by the government - Dillinger returned a witness's pay cheque during one bank robbery saying: "We don't want your money, just the bank's."

America's political elite feared Public Enemies as much as many ordinary Americans admired them. The more the Public Enemies became public idols, they believed, the greater the cracks in America's social order. Unheard-of levels of unemployment, bankruptcy, homelessness and mass internal migration to find work were coupled with the ordinary American's contempt for authority figures they felt had failed them. Or as playwright Bertolt Brecht put it: "The law was made for one thing alone, for the exploitation of those who don't understand it, or are prevented by naked misery from obeying it."

Socially and economically, Prohibition, the Crash of 1929 and the Depression formed the perfect seedbed for crime and thugs trading on economic crisis and social decay. Many of the era's most notorious criminals were involved in bootlegging before repeal, replacing its big-money deals with armed robberies and kidnapping for ransom. By striking at symbols of wealth and privilege they drew not public loathing, but public admiration.

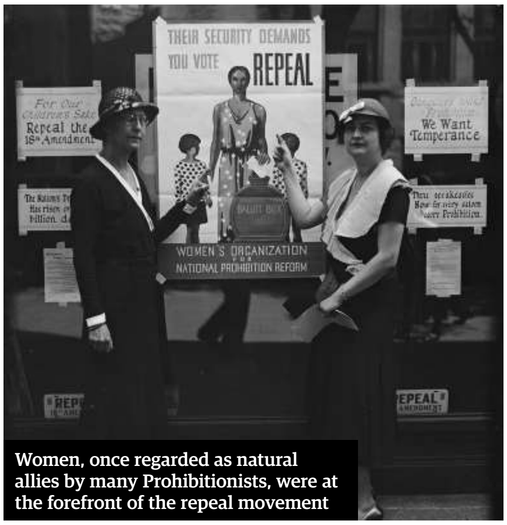
Their victims weren't always treated as kindly. Edward Bremer, brewery heir and president of the Commercial State Bank, drew little public sympathy when kidnapped by the Barker-Karpis Gang in 1934. Driven by desperation, hopelessness, anger and frustration and inspired by the bravado of the Public Enemies many previously honest citizens joined their ranks.

ROOSEVELT'S NEW DEAL WASN'T UNIVERSALLY ADMIRED. SOME CONSIDERED IT TOO LEFT-WING. FOR OTHERS IT DIDN'T GO FAR ENOUGH

Armed Indiana robber John Dee Smith was typical of thousands of young men who, without honest work, had turned to crime during the Depression. Young, anti-social, rebellious and reckless, their attitudes were spawned by the times they lived in and criminal anti-heroes they often idolised as a result: "Our family had little. I managed one year at high school, then quit. I was 16, I wanted to work - but I was 16 in 1932. There wasn't any work. So I took what I wanted and didn't worry about it."

Prohibition spawned Smith's disregard for authority. The Crash of 1929 took away his chances of honest work and Depression's poverty sharpened his appetite for crime. For Smith, crime didn't pay. Condemned for murdering shopkeeper Arlie Foster during a 1935 hold-up, Smith was electrocuted on 1 July 1938, aged only 22.

The combination of Prohibition, the Wall Street Crash and the Great Depression changed America forever. Social attitudes, crime, politics and life itself were never the same thereafter. Whether it was always for the better is more debatable and, like America's social ills today, there is no simple answer. Prohibition had been exactly that, a single simplistic answer to a complex set of social, moral and political questions.


THEIR SECURITY DEMANDS
YOU VOTE
REPEAL
For Our Children's Sake Repeal the 18th Amendment
We Want Temperance
WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION FOR NATIONAL PROHIBITION REFORM
Women, once regarded as natural allies by many Prohibitionists, were at the forefront of the repeal movement

ROOSEVELT'S BEER ACT

THE CULLEN-HARRISON ACT OF 1933 LEGALISED MANUFACTURING LOW-ALCOHOL BEER AND WINE. IT ALSO BOOSTED EMPLOYMENT, INVESTMENT AND TAX REVENUES

Named for its sponsors, the Cullen-Harrison Act legalised beer production after an almost 14-year drought. Taking advantage of opposition to Prohibition and creating jobs, investment and tax revenues for a cash-starved country, it also served to boost FDR's popularity among voters.

Repeal wasn't a top-level issue compared to poverty, unemployment and economic meltdown, but it was certainly useful to FDR and good for the country. New breweries would service an insatiable demand while delivering jobs and investment in any beer-related industry. As breweries flourished, so would production of hops, yeast, barley, brewing equipment, indeed everything down to the labels on beer bottles.

In turn, beer could be taxed at source, employees and businesses would profit and pay tax and the bar industry would flourish. FDR also knew full well that his personal association with giving the public what they wanted would win votes.

It was a crowd-pleaser, appealing to the pro-alcohol lobby and even allowing more pragmatic Prohibitionists to save face, accepting repeal as being good for the country, if not to their personal liking. As FDR said in one of his 'fireside chats' on national radio: "I think this would be a good time for a beer."

President Roosevelt signs the Cullen-Harrison Act. Many agreed it really was a good time for a beer

RAISING A GLASS TO PROHIBITION

THE 'NOBLE EXPERIMENT' AIMED TO CUT CRIME AND IMPROVE MORALITY, BUT AFTER NEARLY 14 YEARS IT SEEMED TO HAVE ACHIEVED THE OPPOSITE

One minute after midnight on 14 April 1933, a truck pulled out of the Abner-Drury Brewery and set off along the dark streets of Washington, DC. This was no surreptitious late-night run to avoid Prohibition agents – in fact, the driver was doing nothing illegal. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt had recently signed an act allowing, for the first time in years, the sale of low-percentage alcohol, after which he supposedly remarked, "I think this would be a good time for a beer".

The owner of the long-closed brewery obliged. He dispatched his delivery truck to the White House at the moment the law took effect, carrying a couple of cases and the sign 'PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, THE FIRST BEER IS FOR YOU' on the side. By the time it reached Pennsylvania Avenue, a crowd of onlookers and press had gathered and half a dozen Hawaiian guitarists gave the scene a real party atmosphere. Yet one of the people not enjoying the moment was Roosevelt himself. He had already gone to bed, so it fell to the Marine guarding the gate to have the symbolic first taste of legal beer that night. Prohibition would not be repealed until the end of the year, but last orders had been called.

Opposition had been mounting higher than Al Capone's earnings throughout the 1920s as it became clear to Americans that national Prohibition was, and always had been, unenforceable. Otherwise law-abiding citizens could readily get a drink, in spite of the health risks posed by illegal and often tainted alcohol, thus exposing them to a world of bootlegging, speakeasies and gangsters.

FAREWELL
18TH
AMENDMENT

For the first time legally in over 13 years, patrons of this New York bar raise their glasses, celebrating the end of Prohibition

OF THE 27 AMENDMENTS TO THE US CONSTITUTION, TEN OF THOSE BEING THE BILL OF RIGHTS, TWO RELATE TO PROHIBITION

CELEBRATING YOUR 21ST

ON 5 DECEMBER 1933, AMERICANS TOASTED REPEAL DAY AND THE END OF HOMEMADE HOOCH, BOOTLEGGERS AND SPEAKEASIES

As soon as news spread that Utah had ratified the 21st Amendment on 5 December 1933, preparations for that evening launched into action. The mountainous stores of beer, wines and spirits kept waiting in warehouses or on boats for the end of Prohibition were instantly loaded onto trucks and delivered to hotels and restaurants. Some establishments, fearing they did not have enough or could not sort out their licence in time, even bought alcohol from now-defunct speakeasies.

In cities across the country, crowds gathered and people enjoyed their first legal drink for nearly 14 years, if not ever. Late into the night, choruses of 'Happy Days Are Here Again' could be heard in the clubs and bars. That said, President Roosevelt had asked for "good sense" in his proclamation earlier in the day, so he must have been satisfied with how civilised Repeal Day turned out to be. "New York celebrates with quiet restraint," read one particular newspaper headline.

The somewhat muted reaction could have been down to the fact that many Americans had drunk during Prohibition anyway. If anything, drinking legally felt less exciting. Also, the legalisation of alcohol had been building throughout the year, including the Cullen-Harrison Act in March, and 5 December did not mark Prohibition's repeal in all of the states. Not everyone would have been in a celebratory mood. Still, many would have woken up the next morning with a different kind of hangover, a legal one, and to this day, Americans mark Repeal Day in their favourite bars.

THEIR SECURITY DEMANDS
YOU VOTE
REPEAL
BALLOT BOX
WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION FOR NATIONAL PROHIBITION REFORM

Members of the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform encourage people to vote for the Democrats in the 1932 election

"DESPITE A MAJORITY OF AMERICANS OPPOSING PROHIBITION, NOT EVERYONE BELIEVED REPEAL TO BE THE SOLUTION"

Crime and organised criminal empires were on the rise, as trust in officials fell due to what seemed to be endemic corruption. The violence peaked with the St Valentine's Day Massacre, when a group of Capone's hoodlums gunned down seven members of a rival gang in a Chicago garage. Sensational headlines about the mass murder caused outrage across the US and partly inspired President Herbert Hoover, a staunchly defiant 'dry', to appoint a commission to evaluate the law enforcement system and propose improvements.

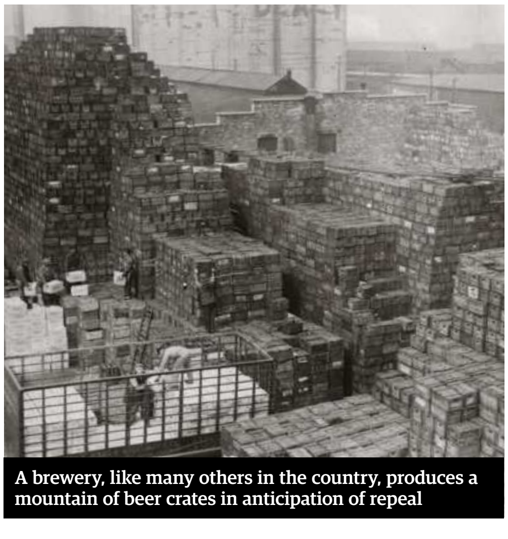
If Hoover hoped the Wickersham Commission would strengthen his position, though, he was mistaken. The 11 members failed to reach a consensus, resulting in an extensive report, released in 1931, full of conflicting, confusing and qualified views. The findings could not ignore the rampant failures with enforcement and a contempt among Americans to abide by the ban, which helped the 'wets', while at the same time generally opposing a repeal of the 18th Amendment. Hoover claimed this as a victory, but it was already too little too late by then.

In the wake of the Wall Street Crash of 1929, the Great Depression hit the country hard. People just needed a drink. More importantly, the economic incentives of ending Prohibition came to the fore. Taking back alcohol production, distribution and sale from organised crime syndicates would mean thousands of jobs and much-needed tax revenue. It is estimated the government lost nearly $11 billion during Prohibition, and spent hundreds of millions keeping it going.

Organisations calling for repeal proliferated, including the National Committee for Modification of the Volstead Act, The Crusaders and the Women's Organisation for National Prohibition Reform. The latter had been formed by a disillusioned Prohibitionist, Pauline Sabin – who once declared "a world without liquor would be a beautiful thing" – and boasted a high of 1.5 million members. Despite a majority of Americans opposing Prohibition, with one poll claiming 74 per cent as against its continuation, not everyone believed repeal to be the solution. Morris Sheppard, a Democratic senator from Texas and author of the 18th Amendment, said there was as much chance of repeal as "there is for a hummingbird to fly to the planet Mars with the Washington Monument tied to its tail".

Yet when the 1932 presidential election came along, Sheppard's party disagreed with him. As the Republicans supported the incumbent Hoover's position, the Democrats latched on to public opinion and campaigned on a platform of ending Prohibition. The candidate, New York governor Roosevelt, was hardly an ardent advocate for repeal, but he pledged to make it a fundamental policy if he made it to the White House. Campaign buttons were made showing him and his running mate,

After winning the election in a landslide, Franklin D Roosevelt is inaugurated as president on 4 March 1933. Before the year is out, he brings about the end of Prohibition



A brewery, like many others in the country, produces a mountain of beer crates in anticipation of repeal

John Nance Garner, next to a frothing glass of beer. At a speech in Seagirt, New Jersey, Roosevelt spoke of the "stupendous blunder" of Prohibition. "It is increasingly apparent that the intemperate use of intoxicants has no place in this new mechanised civilisation of ours," he said on 27 August. "But the methods adopted… have been accompanied in most parts of the country by complete and tragic failure." Roosevelt swept to victory in a landslide, and the Democrats won majorities in both the House of Representatives and Senate of Congress.

Before Roosevelt was even inaugurated, Congress proposed a new amendment to the Constitution to repeal the 18th Amendment and sent it to the states for approval. Believing that ratifying the 21st Amendment could take years, however, led Roosevelt to sign the Cullen-Harrison Act a matter of weeks after taking office, on 22 March 1933. It amended the Volstead Act to permit the manufacture and sale of beer and wine with an alcoholic content of up to 3.2 per cent, considered too low to be intoxicating. Soon, breweries like Abner-Drury were dusting off their equipment and starting up business again.

THE KU KLUX KLAN DEFENDED PROHIBITION WITH THE AIM OF 'PURIFYING' THE NATION. THIS LED MANY TO SUPPORT REPEAL

People cheer as the first truck freshly laden with beer leaves Jacob Ruppert's Brewery in New York

Getting the states to ratify the 21st Amendment took less time than expected too. What began with Michigan on 10 April, four days before the midnight drive to the White House, ended on 5 December when Utah became the 36th state to ratify, pushing the total over the three-fourths majority required. The 18th Amendment was repealed – the first time in US history this had been done – and federal Prohibition brought to an end. "We must remove forever from our midst the menace of the bootlegger and such others as would profit at the expense of good government, law and order," read Roosevelt's proclamation that followed the repeal. "I trust in the good sense of the American people that they will not bring upon themselves the curse of excessive use of intoxicating liquors, to the detriment of health, morals and social integrity."

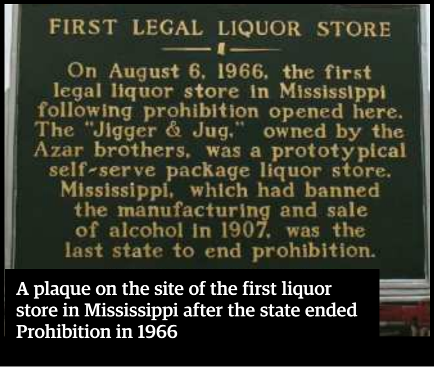
Millions of (legally lubricated) Americans celebrated the end of Prohibition and businesses boomed, not only in alcohol manufacture, but barrel and keg making, transportation and entertainment establishments like hotels, restaurants and bars. Some 500,000 people found work. Yet the 21st Amendment did not necessarily mean the total removal of the ban, as it granted individual states the power to regulate alcohol within their own borders. Some chose to maintain Prohibition for years, even decades. On a national level, Prohibition, the 'noble experiment', lasted 13 years, 10 months and 19 days and left a complicated legacy.

After repeal, the hundreds of millions of dollars brought in helped fund Roosevelt's New Deal to lift the country out of the Depression. For his work in that recovery and his leadership in World War II, Roosevelt is rightly remembered as one of the greatest presidents in US history, yet ranking among his accomplishments should be his quick and decisive action to let Americans have a drink.

THE DRY STATES AFTER REPEAL

TO THIS DAY, MORE THAN EIGHT DECADES AFTER THE END OF PROHIBITION, AROUND 18 MILLION AMERICANS LIVE IN DRY AREAS

Prohibition did not disappear in the United States in 1933. The passage of the 21st Amendment ended the national ban on alcohol manufacture, sale and distribution, but Section 2 allowed the states to govern their own laws on the transportation and importation of 'intoxicating liquors'. So while 38 states had ratified the amendment by 1934, the last being Montana, a handful chose to keep the ban in place. South Carolina went even further and rejected the repeal of the 18th Amendment entirely. Gradually, these states removed their bans on alcohol too, but it would take until 1966 for the last, Mississippi, to end Prohibition. Even then, 'local option' laws gave counties, cities and towns the power to vote on whether to remain dry. Today, there are still more than 200 dry counties across dozens of states, including 37 of the 75 counties in Arkansas and a quarter of those in Kentucky. Places permitting the sale of alcohol with limitations are known as 'moist'. The Native American reservation of Pine Ridge in South Dakota prohibits the sale of alcohol, which has led to the nearby town of Whiteclay, with a population of 14, having four liquor stores that sell nearly five million cans of beer a year.


FIRST LEGAL LIQUOR STORE

On August 6, 1966, the first legal liquor store in Mississippi following prohibition opened here. The "Jigger & Jug," owned by the Azar brothers, was a prototypical self-serve package liquor store. Mississippi, which had banned the manufacturing and sale of alcohol in 1907, was the last state to end prohibition.

A plaque on the site of the first liquor store in Mississippi after the state ended Prohibition in 1966

WHAT IF... PROHIBITION HAD STAYED IN PLACE?

PROHIBITION, USA, 1933

Dr Jack Blocker

Jack Blocker is Professor of History Emeritus at Huron University College, an affiliated college of the University of Western Ontario, Canada. He has authored and edited six books on the history of alcohol use and temperance reform, most recently as co-editor of *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History: An International Encyclopedia (2003).* He also wrote an article for the *American Journal of Public Health* entitled "Did Prohibition Really Work?"

Dr Deborah Toner

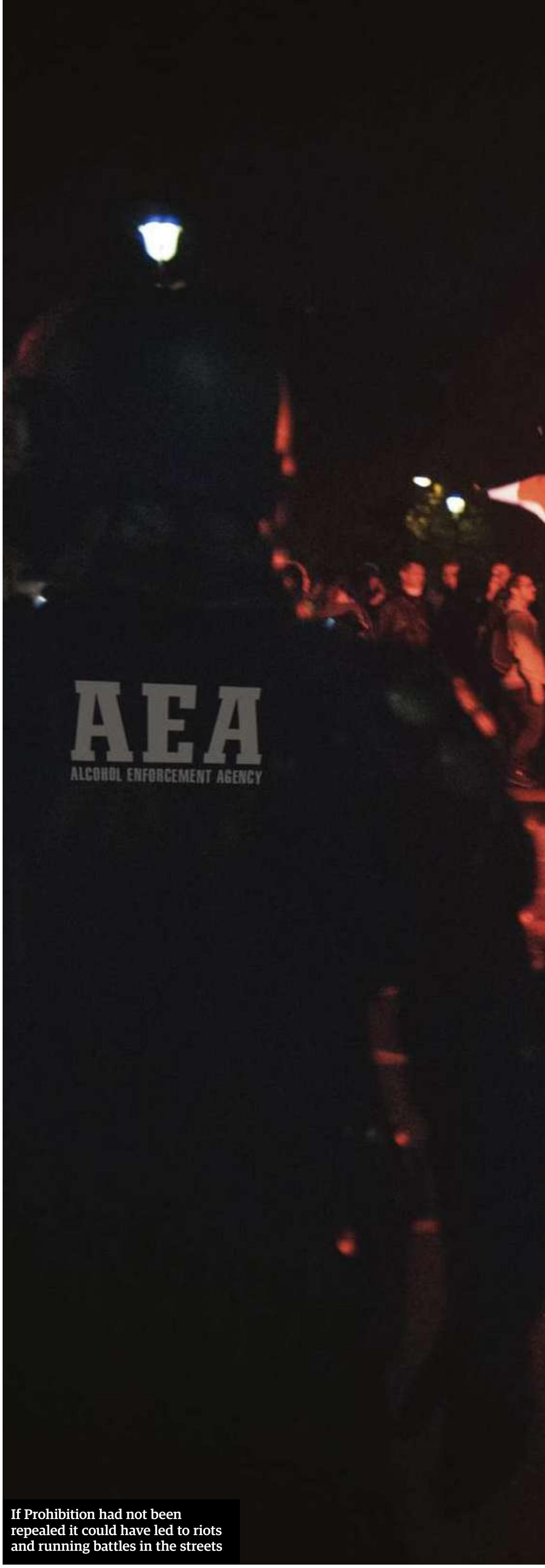
Dr Deborah Toner is a Lecturer in Modern History at the University of Leicester, UK. Her research and teaching interests focus on the social and cultural history of alcohol in Mexico and the United States. She also convenes the Warwick Drinking Studies Network, a scholarly forum for the exploration of historical and contemporary debates surrounding alcohol and its place in society.

What if Prohibition hadn't been repealed in 1933?

Jack Blocker: It's hard to imagine enforcement of national Prohibition improving and it's easy to imagine it deteriorating if Prohibition had remained in place. The problem was the division of authority between the states and the federal government that was mandated by the 18th Amendment. That caused problems during the Twenties because some states devoted few resources to enforcement, leaving the whole burden on the federal government, which itself was not adequately funded to do the job of enforcement. As a result, enforcement against Prohibition was never carried out to the level necessary to provide full compliance with the Volstead Act. It's extremely unlikely that things would have gotten any better in the Thirties because both the states and the federal government were hard-pressed for revenues [due to the Great Depression of 1929]. So it's quite likely that enforcement would have been cut back.

Would organised crime have increased?

Deborah Toner: In that kind of scenario it's very difficult to imagine how organised crime could have been reined in. This is where most people dwell on one of the key problems of Prohibition, this explosion in organised crime growing out of networks that had existed for at least 40 to 50 years before Prohibition came into effect. They really expanded rapidly because of the huge new



If Prohibition had not been repealed it could have led to riots and running battles in the streets

economic opportunities that Prohibition created. And so one might have seen a escalation of organised crime and associated violent crime with gang warfare that we now see between the drug-dealing organisations in the US and elsewhere. It's quite possible that if the hardline approach [by the authorities] to Prohibition had remained, there could have been a massive escalation in organised crime. The continuation would have supported the development of super-organised crime gangs, the kind of cartels that we see in the drug business, across these two illegal industries [drugs and alcohol].

Is it likely the law would not have survived this increase in crime?

Blocker: Anybody transporting, selling, manufacturing or importing liquor was by definition a criminal, but they might not have been part of a criminal organisation. In other words, the deterioration of enforcement might have opened up a lot of space for ordinary citizens to make their own booze and pass it back and forth among friends. The decline in enforcement might also have reduced one of the real problems in public perception of Prohibition, in that when enforcement did take place it was often perceived as unfair when gun battles broke out in the streets between Prohibition agents and bootleggers. If enforcement was cut back that could have declined, which would have meant that one of the more visible problems as far as the public saw them would have been reduced. US citizens might have said: "Why not leave the law in the books because it's not having much effect, we're able to obtain liquor and the gun battles in the streets aren't taking place." So the law might have survived, in spite of or perhaps because of deterioration of enforcement.

If Prohibition had been modified, could it have lasted longer?

Toner: My view is that the only way Prohibition could have survived, so that it could have avoided being repealed, was if the Prohibition camp, or the 'dry' lobby as they're often referred, accepted some modifications to the way Prohibition was being enforced through the Volstead Act. If that had happened and Prohibition had remained in a more revised format then actually a lot of the aims of Prohibition would have been achieved. For instance, with that change a lot more resources would have been diverted towards cracking down on the higher-level organised crime led by mobsters like Al Capone and so on.

Blocker: One of the proposals made consistently through the Twenties was to modify Prohibition to allow consumption of beer and light wines. If that change had been made Prohibition may well have lasted quite a long time because, as you know, beer and wine now make up the largest contributor of per

> “IT’S QUITE POSSIBLE THAT IF THE HARDLINE APPROACH TO PROHIBITION HAD REMAINED, THERE COULD HAVE BEEN A MASSIVE ESCALATION IN ORGANISED CRIME”

capita alcohol consumption. It is possible to imagine an amended Prohibition continuing long after 1933.

Would that have been more successful?

Toner: If there had been a more moderate approach towards scaling back Prohibition, making it less of a burden to the average American and concentrating resources on cracking down on the highest levels of organised crime, then we might have seen a more effective management of that process. If things like beer and light wine had been legalised during the course of Prohibition, even if spirits and other high-percentage alcohol drinks had remained illegal, that really would have reduced the market that organised crime had to sell to. I strongly think that had those changes towards the legalisation, particularly of beer and wine, been taken in the Twenties, Prohibition would have continued for a very long time.

Was there a turning point where Prohibition might not have been repealed?

Blocker: The turning point probably came in the late Twenties after Herbert Hoover’s election [as US president] in 1928. He created a commission to look at Prohibition, the Wickersham Commission, and if that had recommended modifying Prohibition that could well have been a turning point. But by that point the main Prohibitionist organisation, the Anti-Saloon League, was in extreme disarray, although there were a lot of people who continued to support national Prohibition, so there could have been a political firestorm had they recommended modifying it.

Toner: In the mid-to-late Twenties there were continued attempts to try to persuade the government to introduce changes to the Volstead Act so that things like beer and wine could be legalised. But members of the ‘dry’ lobby, particularly led by the Anti-Saloon League, completely refused to countenance any changes whatsoever, either to the Volstead Act or to the 18th Amendment. It’s really that intransigence and unwillingness to compromise in any way that pushes the two camps, pro-Prohibition and pro-repeal, into completely opposite positions.

How would the economy have fared if Prohibition had remained unchanged?

Al Capone (centre) was one of the US government’s biggest enemies during the Prohibition era

Toner: It’s possible that there may have been a very entrenched period of depression in the Thirties that Prohibition contributed to. From the Fifties onwards there might have been a positive effect in terms of greater worker productivity, higher levels of personal savings and so on. Those were major goals for the Prohibition campaigners before it was brought into force, but that simulating effect on the economy didn’t manifest itself in the Twenties to any great degree because of the knock-on effect of people going out of work, there being lower tax revenues coming in and so on. With the dire situation of the US economy in the midst of the Great Depression, if anything, continued Prohibition would have helped to cement that depression. What we have to think about is the temptation for more and more ordinary people to take a criminal path. If we are imagining an even further expansion of organised crime, then with that comes a greater need for the government to tackle organised crime. With the government having less and less

HOW WOULD IT BE DIFFERENT?

REAL TIMELINE

1919

18th Amendment
The 18th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States is ratified, prohibiting the production, transport and sale of alcohol. The country will go dry later that year.
16 January 1919

Enforcement of Prohibition begins
Over 1,500 federal Prohibition agents are tasked with enforcing the strict laws of the Volstead Act.
17 January 1920

Prohibition struggles
With resources stretched, the government struggles to successfully police Prohibition laws, allowing criminal alcohol gangs to grow in wealth and power.
1921-1928

Wickersham Commission
Hoover establishes the Wickersham Commission to study the effects of Prohibition and suggest changes to lower crime levels.
20 May 1929

The Great Depression
The Wall Street crash of October 1929 sends the US economy plummeting into a downturn.
October 1929

Decision on Prohbition
The Wickersham Commission must make its decision on whether Prohibition should be modified or tackled with more enforcement to combat crime.
6 January 1931

REAL TIMELINE

ALTERNATE TIMELINE

resources in the midst of the Great Depression and having to spend ever-more on enforcement it doesn't spell a happy picture for the economy.

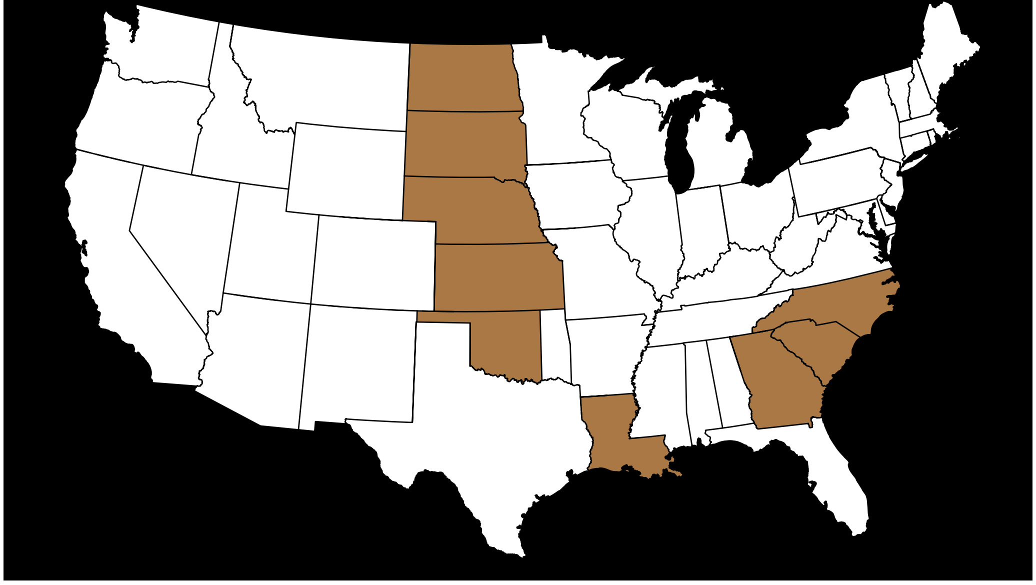
Would a lack of repeal have encouraged attempts by other countries to bring in prohibition?

Blocker: A number of other countries and territories adopted forms of Prohibition during the early-20th century. There were various international Prohibitionist organisations at work, such as the World League Against Alcoholism, and I suspect the repeal of US Prohibition represented a real body blow to efforts to internationalise that reform. Without repeal, there may well have been an instance where Prohibition became more widespread around the world.

Would continued prohibition have affected the USA's involvement in World War II?

Toner: The only thing that might have prevented that was an economic situation if Prohibition had continued and affected the economy very badly. But it's widely believed that with World War II came an economic recovery because of all the additional opportunities for exporting and manufacturing goods and weaponry, and that probably still would've had that effect in the context of continued Prohibition. If anything a continued commitment to Prohibition might have enhanced the sense of the USA being able to export a kind of morale-idealised society to other parts of the world, that kind of evangelising undertone to US foreign policy might have actually been heightened by continued Prohibition.

STATES THAT VOTED TO KEEP PROHIBITION, 1933



How long might Prohibition have lasted if it was not repealed in 1933?

Toner: If a more modified form of Prohibition had been introduced, it might have been gradually lifted according to provincial interests and be replaced by regulatory systems, in effect lifting Prohibition once its job had been done. An altered form of it could have lasted for decades, and in several states even now Prohibition is still effectively in force. But I think the Sixties or Seventies would probably have been the maximum life span for Prohibition in that modified form. If Prohibition had remained unchanged in its radical original version, it's difficult to see how that would have survived for long. The mounting economic pressures, expansion of organised crime and generally being out of sync with the rest of the world on this issue would probably have brought itself to bear by the time of World War II. In terms of the economic demands of the US in the post-World War II era, it's difficult to see how that kind of radical Prohibition could have survived.

> "IF ANYTHING, CONTINUED PROHIBITION WOULD HAVE HELPED TO CEMENT THAT [ECONOMIC] DEPRESSION"

Level of enforcement increased
The Wickersham Commission recommends more extensive law enforcement to ensure compliance with Prohibition laws across the US, but it is not successful.
7 January 1931

Prohibition repealed
The 21st Amendment to the US Constitution repeals the 18th Amendment, re-legalising the distribution and consumption of alcohol.
5 December 1933

World War II
With a now-prosperous economy USA enters World War II, swinging the war in the Allies' favour.
1942

Minor Prohibition continues
Several states in the US continue to keep some form of Prohibition laws, allowing the distribution of certain types of alcohol.
1960

New Deal
President Roosevelt's 'New Deal' economic recovery plan allows the US to emerge from the mire of the Great Depression.
1936

Super gangs
Super-organised crime gangs emerge, taking complete control of both alcohol and drug traffic in the country.
1938

Prohibition is modified
The Wickersham Commission recommends modifying Prohibition laws to allow for lower percentage drinks like beer and light wine.
7 January 1931

Prohibition continues
Even though Prohibition laws are relaxed to allow weaker drinks, a lack of repeal makes it increasingly difficult to tackle organised gangs peddling stronger alcohol.
5 December 1933

Economy worsens
Despite Roosevelt's best efforts with his New Deal economy plan, the continued attempts to police Prohibition sees the economy get even worse.
1936

World War II
The US enters World War II, which provides a much needed economic boost to the ailing country and also strengthens the cause of the Prohibition camp.
1942

Prohibition repealed
Eventually Prohibition is repealed, perhaps as it has fulfilled its goals or because it cannot be maintained, although some states keep their anti-alcohol laws.
1960

© Alamy; Corbis

People celebrate the end of Prohibition as bartenders pour a round of drinks at Sloppy Joe's in Chicago

THE NOBLE EXPERIMENT

PROHIBITION WAS ONCE CALLED 'THE NOBLE EXPERIMENT', BUT INTENDING TO BRING SOBRIETY AND DECENCY, IT INSTEAD DELIVERED VIOLENCE, CORRUPTION AND DEATH

It was a noble experiment that started badly and failed miserably. Weeks before the Volstead Act came into force just after midnight on 16 January 1920, gangs in major cities were quietly stockpiling beer, wine and spirits. At around 1am on 17 January, authorities having granted an extra 24 hours to thirsty Americans, the first major crime against Prohibition was recorded. In Chicago, later the epicentre of Prohibition bloodshed, six armed men hijacked a rail car holding whiskey worth around $100,000.

NEW YORK'S FIRST GANGLAND MURDER USING A TOMMY GUN WAS THAT OF BOOTLEGGER AND RACKETEER FRANKIE YALE ON 1 JULY 1928

Prohibition's negative consequences were lasting and far worse than could ever have been anticipated. Their effects are still being felt to this day. As beer baron, gangster and criminal icon Al Capone once said: "You can't cure a thirst by law"

He was right – Prohibition couldn't cure what temperance campaigners considered America's drink problem. Repeal couldn't cure the damage done by Prohibition either. In only 13 years it had caused massive bloodshed and lasting damage. Before the Volstead Act, the United States had a legitimate drinks industry grossing as much as $2 billion a year. After that, it endured one of the most corrupt, whiskey-soaked, blood-stained periods in its history.

The drink business had been handed to the underworld overnight, lock, stock and barrel, and, with alcohol now illegal, prices shot up. Before Prohibition, a shot of decent, drinkable whiskey cost an average of 25

CANNED HEAT AND COCKTAILS

COCKTAILS ARE TASTY, FASHIONABLE AND WERE INVENTED DURING PROHIBITION. THEIR BRIGHT COLOURS AND SWEET TASTE OFTEN HID A POTENTIALLY DEADLY SECRET

The Singapore Sling, Screwdriver, Tom Collins and many others still exist today, but their history is far darker and more unpalatable. Bootleggers didn't just sell genuine wine, beer and spirits, but frequently lethal homemade drink as well.

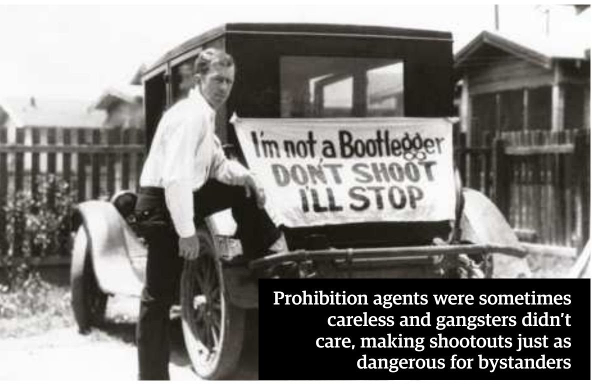
Called bathtub gin, hooch, popskull, coffin varnish and many other names, it often contained lethally poisonous additives to improve its potency. 'Canned heat', otherwise known as 'bay rum', was among the worst. Made from adulterated Jamaica ginger, it caused blindness, hallucinations, psychosis and organ failure among other illnesses.

When stills and warehouses were raided and stocks confiscated, they were often spiked with chemicals like sulphuric acid and iodine to make them undrinkable. When bootleggers secretly bought their stock back through corrupt police officers and other officials, they simply added more colour and flavourings to hide the taste, selling it on to anyone who'd drink it. Thousands of Americans were blinded, maimed or died.

Kenneth Allsop describes such brews in *The Bootleggers: The Story of Chicago's Prohibition Era*: "A Chicago city chemist, while analysing an impounded shipment of bootleg hooch, spilled a little on a sink in his laboratory: it ate away the enamel."

Bathtub gin was literally mixed in bathtubs, usually including gallons of turpentine to boost its kick. Aside from making it even more toxic, the turpentine did little to improve the flavour. Looking to make their deadly drink more palatable, bartenders experimented, adding colour and flavour to help drinkers enjoy it a little more. The cocktail, named after the bright plumage of a bird's tail, was born.

Cocktails came from Prohibition, but are far healthier without turpentine or sulphuric acid in the mix



Prohibition agents were sometimes careless and gangsters didn't care, making shootouts just as dangerous for bystanders

Prohibition was repealed on 5 December 1933. Cities all over America celebrated its repeal and drank to its demise

> "TURPENTINE, WOOD ALCOHOL, IODINE AND MORE WERE COMMONLY FOUND IN STOCKS SEIZED FROM SPEAKEASIES AND THEIR SUPPLIERS"

cents. During Prohibition, a shot probably tainted with assorted lethal chemicals, regardless of what the bottle's label claimed it to be, cost 75 cents or more. The extra profits were often earmarked for bribery and corruption.

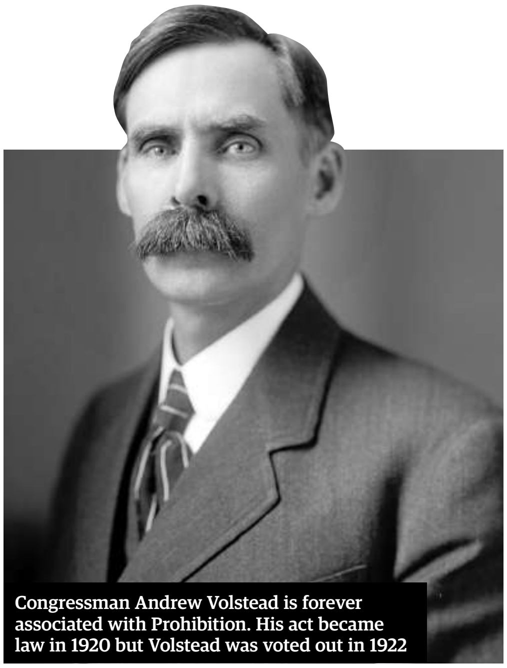
Corruption, always a prominent feature in American political and judicial life, grew under Prohibition. Police, politicians, lawyers, judges and more were bought and sold in their thousands, far worse than before. It could be argued that one of the reasons the 'Untouchables' stood out is that they were apparently incorruptible when so many in law enforcement weren't. Corruption itself reached unheard-of levels, and the idea that bribes count for more than law and democracy flourished with it. American politics and law enforcement were permanently tainted.

Many argue that corrupters are worse than killers. Comparing Mafia bootleggers Vito Genovese (a psychopathic murderer) and Frank Costello (the Mafia's 'Prime Minister of the Underworld'), expert Selwyn Raab said that corrupters were far more dangerous. People like Costello subverted the entire system of government, exercising more real power than voters, legislators or the law. People like Genovese only murdered. Both Genovese and Costello rose to the top during Prohibition.

Coupled with unrivalled corruption was Prohibition's effect on public attitudes. It was deeply unpopular from the beginning. The vast majority of Americans drank and disagreed with Prohibition, and many teetotal Americans were unwilling to impose temperance on other people. The more politicians and the law tried to force Americans to stay sober, the more Americans ending up drinking. Dislike of the unpopular law was only increased by disgust at official hypocrisy.

It was no secret that President Herbert Hoover drank and held nightly poker games at the White House, while the open corruption of officials and willingness of gangsters to give Americans what they wanted spawned widespread disrespect, not only for Prohibition, but for the law generally. Prohibition had already taken a $2 billion business and handed it to gangsters, it also recast gangsters from Public Enemies to public servants. As Al Capone described it: "When I sell liquor, it's called

> HYMIE WEISS WAS SPECTACULARLY MACHINE-GUNNED IN PUBLIC ON 11 OCTOBER 1926. CHICAGO'S HOLY NAME CATHEDRAL STILL BEARS THE BULLET HOLES



Congressman Andrew Volstead is forever associated with Prohibition. His act became law in 1920 but Volstead was voted out in 1922

bootlegging; when my patrons serve it on Lake Shore Drive, it's called hospitality"

The casualties from Prohibition numbered in the thousands and not only among America's criminals. As competition increased among the underworld, violence increased with it. In towns and cities all over the country, rivals shot, bombed, strangled and knifed each other in an extended war for control of the new racket.

Chicago was the worst with the Beer Wars causing just over 700 gangland murders. Corruption and intimidation saw only seven convictions. The Thompson sub-machine gun, perhaps better known as the Tommy gun, was the gangster's new weapon of choice. Originally invented for the military it's still nicknamed the 'Chicago Typewriter' and 'Chicago Piano.'

Speakeasies were bombed, drive-by shootings increased dramatically (having been pioneered in 1931 by New York gangster Vincent 'Mad Dog' Coll) and the dreaded 'one-way ride' became the norm. The phrase was coined by Hymie Weiss after murdering small-time criminal Stevie Wisniewski in July 1921. Afterwards, Weiss allegedly remarked: "We took Stevie for a ride – a one-way ride..."

Alongside the gangsters died many thousands of civilians. Some of them were in the wrong place at the wrong time. They caught stray bullets in shootouts that were aimed at somebody else. They happened to be in a speakeasy when a rival gang threw grenades or packages of dynamite into it. They saw or heard things they weren't supposed to and the gangs murdered them in case they talked.

Some were brave enough to testify in court or go on the record, publicly opposing gangland violence and bootlegging. They were usually threatened, bribed, blackmailed, beaten into silence or simply murdered for their efforts. Almost nobody was immune including lawyers, police officers, campaigners, journalists and newspaper editors. All risked injury or death as an indirect result of Prohibition and the gangland violence it created.

Thousands more were either injured or killed by drinking homemade booze, frequently manufactured with toxic ingredients. Chemicals that weren't fit for human consumption were routinely added by bootleggers to their products. Turpentine, wood alcohol, surgical spirits, industrial alcohol, sulphuric acid, iodine and more were commonly found in stocks seized from speakeasies and their suppliers.

Industrial-scale production of untested, toxic and lethal bootleg booze, unsurprisingly, led to industrial-scale illness and death. A drinker might survive accidentally walking into a shootout between rival bootleggers, then visit a speakeasy for a calming drink and be served something that killed them hours or days later. Those lucky enough to avoid that were likely to slowly poison themselves over an extended period. If alcohol itself didn't destroy them, the additives in bootleg booze very easily might.

LEGENDARY 'UNTOUCHABLE' ELIOT NESS LATER BECAME AN ALCOHOLIC, SUFFERING A FATAL HEART ATTACK IN 1957 AFTER YEARS OF CHRONIC DRINKING

When Prohibition was finally repealed in 1933, much damage had been done to both Americans and their society. Perhaps criminals benefitted most from its inglorious existence. Many used their profits to fund other rackets like drugs, loansharking and illegal gambling. In the decades since, the effects of those rackets – particularly the international drug trade – have been devastating.

No matter how many shipments were seized and arrests made, it made no difference - Prohibition was simply unenforceable

Many low-level Prohibition-era gangsters, those who survived long enough, learned their trade partly from bootlegging. They included many former Capone underlings and future underworld titans like Carlo Gambino, Vito Genovese and Albert Anastasia. These men rose through crime's ranks using the experience and connections they'd acquired in the bootlegging business. Capone wasn't among them, dying in 1947. A lengthy prison term ended his career, ill-health doing what gangland rivals and law enforcement hadn't quite managed.

The last word on Prohibition best belongs to an anonymous poet, whose verse caught on rather better than Prohibition itself:

'PROHIBITION IS AN AWFUL FLOP,
WE LIKE IT,
IT CAN'T STOP WHAT IT'S MEANT TO STOP,
WE LIKE IT,
IT'S FILLED OUR LAND WITH VICE AND CRIME,
IT'S LEFT A TRAIL OF GRAFT AND SLIME,
IT DON'T PROHIBIT WORTH A DIME.
NEVERTHELESS, WE'RE FOR IT.'

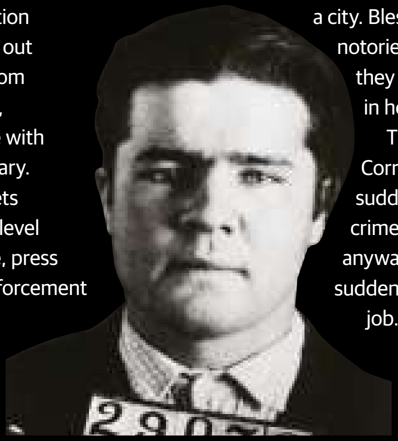
RACKETEERS VERSUS ROBBERS

WITH POLICE, POLITICAL AND JUDICIAL CORRUPTION RAMPANT, BOOTLEGGERS OFTEN HAD BIGGER PROBLEMS WITH OTHER CRIMINALS THAN WITH LAW ENFORCEMENT

One of Prohibition's major disasters was its degree of corruption. Police officers, judges, lawyers and politicians were all on the Prohibition payroll, generously bribed to stay out of bootleggers' business. Aside from infecting public life on every level, gangsters often had more trouble with outlaws than the police and judiciary.

While running day-to-day rackets like bootlegging, most of the top-level crimelords wanted minimal police, press and public attention. With law enforcement officials stifled by bribes, threats, blackmail and violence, the gangs could conduct their criminal business with a certain stability and continuity.

However, that changed very quickly whenever infamous bandits and kidnappers like John Dillinger, Bonnie & Clyde and Pretty Boy Floyd passed through a city. Blessed (or cursed) with as much notoriety as any criminal could want, they had police and Federal agents in hot pursuit.



Fugitives like Pretty Boy Floyd were disruptive, forcing even corrupt police and officials to be seen doing their job

That caused periods of chaos. Corrupt officials and politicians suddenly became crusaders against crime (while the crack-down lasted, anyway). Even the most corrupt cops suddenly had to be seen doing their job. Speakeasies were shut down, breweries and distilleries raided, and stocks of illegal booze were seized until the travelling circus moved on with the fugitives who'd created it.

SING A SONG OF SIX-PENCE

Repeal could only be celebrated in one way - all over the country, Americans toasted the demise of the Volstead Act

THE LONG SHADOW OF PROHIBITION

THE NATIONAL PROHIBITION LAWS WERE REPEALED IN 1933 BUT AMERICANS STILL FEEL PROHIBITION'S AFTER-EFFECTS TODAY, DECADES AFTER IT ENDED

When Americans toasted the end of Prohibition, they thought it drew a line under the issue. It didn't. Just as many Americans had been wrong about Prohibition bringing sobriety and respectability, they were equally wrong about repeal being the end of Prohibition's problems.

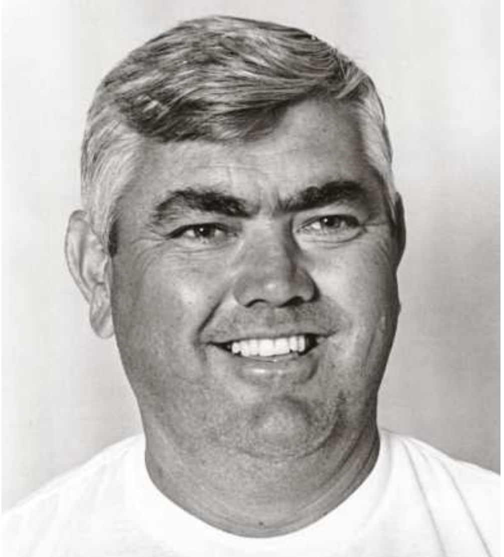
Organised crime and gangsterism didn't simply wither and die when Prohibition ended – it just grew more discreet. The days of Capone kicking a mayor down the steps of the town hall and Owney Madden standing over a rival he'd just murdered, bellowing "I'm Owney Madden! From 10th Avenue!" were over. Publicity-seeking and notoriety were done, and now discretion was the order of the day. More recently, New York gangster John Gotti was often described as resembling a gangster from the Roaring Twenties rather than the 1980s. His manner, expensive clothes and love of publicity proved ruinous for the Gambino family, but provided endless inspiration for the media who liked to compare him to his Prohibition predecessors.

The old-time criminals who profited from Prohibition and somehow survived it still ruled the underworld, only less obviously. Shootouts in public places were replaced by more discreet forms of murder. Violence was still prevalent, but events like the Saint Valentine's Day Massacre of 1929 were firmly off gangsters' agendas as they kept their business interests increasingly private, even running legitimate businesses behind false names and front-men. Having learned from Capone's downfall on tax-evasion charges, increasing numbers bought or forced their way into thousands of legitimate businesses as a cover for money laundering. Gangsters hadn't grown softer or more timid – they'd grown smarter and more shadowy. Their rules and the penalties for defying them, though, remained as firm as ever.

MISSISSIPPI WAS THE LAST STATE IN THE COUNTRY TO REPEAL PROHIBITION – IT REMAINED A DRY STATE UNTIL 1966

Socially, Prohibition did break down or weaken some social barriers. Jazz and blues musicians broke into the mainstream, albeit still in a segregated America if they weren't white. Different cities evolved different jazz and blues styles, which further enhanced the music's appeal. Aficionados today can tell the difference, for instance, between Chicago and Texas blues or jazz from Louisiana's legendary Bourbon Street and Chicago's South Side.

Of course, Hollywood profited immensely from Prohibition and the gangster era. The 1930s saw two competing movie genres. First came the classic gangster movies like *Public Enemy*, *Little Caesar* and *White Heat*. They often portrayed the gangster as an anti-hero and man of action who, in his own criminal way, is somehow noble and heroic. The opposite was the 'crime does not pay' genre. In most of these, the criminal comes to a sticky end at the law's hands in the final reel, ending



Junior Johnson, a North Carolina moonshiner and NASCAR legend. He made moonshine runs in between winning over 50 NASCAR races

his days in a shootout or the electric chair. These films were influenced by concern that the public was idolising pretend gangsters while lapping up the murderous exploits of real ones. Movie star George Raft managed to blur the line between fantasy and reality still further, portraying gangsters while being a friend of Murder Inc's Benjamin 'Bugsy' Siegel.

James Cagney worked both sides playing the unrepentant Cody Jarrett in *White Heat* as well as the penitent Rocky Sullivan dragged to the electric chair at the end of *Angels with Dirty Faces*. Meanwhile, 1934's *Manhattan Melodrama*, watched by John Dillinger before he was shot outside Chicago's Biograph Theatre on 22 July 1934, features Clark Gable as gangster Blackie Gallagher. Gallagher is electrocuted at the end. Dillinger's last words as he walked out into the FBI ambush were apparently: "That was a good movie"

Crime drama, popularised during and after Prohibition, remains a popular genre today. Classics like *Goodfellas*, *Scarface* and most recently *Public Enemies* are still a hit. By the same token, TV dramas like *The Sopranos* are still in demand. True crime books, podcasts and magazines still cover Prohibition regularly. America's fascination with gangs and gangsters, nearly a century after Prohibition began, remains as strong as ever.

Saloons and bars, previously almost exclusively male domains before Prohibition, welcomed women as customers, employees and owners. Some women had even gone into bootlegging before and after repeal, based on the idea that women were less likely to be suspected of running speakeasies or organising moonshine operations. Much of the temperance movement had supported women getting the right to vote before Prohibition as many of them tended to be pro-temperance. After Prohibition, women had greater access than ever to bars and saloons.

It's also a myth that the end of Federal Prohibition spelt the end of Prohibition generally. Individual states and counties were still free to enforce local laws against alcohol and many did so. They were also free to catch and punish bootleggers. Bootleggers could and would evade or fight law enforcement officers raiding their stills and warehouses. Even today, some counties in a number of US states are dry by local law.

Prohibition also unwittingly created a brand-new sport: stock car racing. Rum runners and moonshiners,

MOORE COUNTY IN TENNESSEE, HOME OF THE JACK DANIEL'S DISTILLERY, REMAINS A DRY COUNTY TO THIS DAY

> "SOME WOMEN HAD EVEN GONE INTO BOOTLEGGING BEFORE AND AFTER REPEAL, BASED ON THE IDEA THAT WOMEN WERE LESS LIKELY TO BE SUSPECTED"

THE REMARKABLE 'CARBINE' WILLIAMS

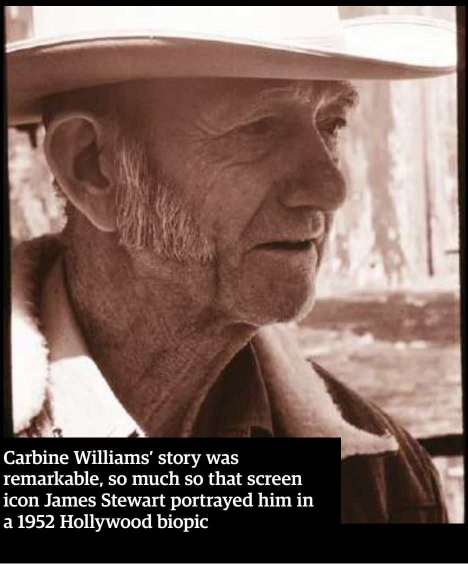
NORTH CAROLINA'S DAVID MARSHALL WILLIAMS WAS A BOOTLEGGER JAILED FOR MURDER. HE LEFT PRISON A PIONEER OF AMERICA'S GUN INDUSTRY

Making illegal moonshine can have its ups and downs. For Williams, forever known as 'Carbine' Williams, this proved harrowingly true. He was convicted of murdering Deputy Sheriff Al Pate on 22 July 1921 when the Cumberland County Sheriff raided his still. Williams always denied the murder, claiming he'd fired only warning shots at Pate before handing his gun to accomplice Ham Dawson. According to Williams it was Dawson who had then committed the actual murder, but it made no difference. Williams pled guilty to second-degree murder, avoiding the electric chair but receiving 30 years' hard labour instead. Dawson was later acquitted.

While in prison, Williams worked in the machine shop, maintaining and repairing all manner of mechanical equipment. He was eventually permitted to service the weapons issued to the prison's guards. While doing his standard prison work he also secretly began designing a brand-new weapon, the M1 Carbine.

Carbines, shorter and lighter than rifles, were later standard-issue weapons in the US military. As the Tommy gun was a military weapon popularised by gangsters, the M1 was designed by a bootlegger and adopted by many branches of the armed forces. Williams, finally released in September 1929, found himself somewhat of a celebrity.

In 1952, his remarkable story caught Hollywood's eye and James Stewart took the leading role in *Carbine Williams*. Williams himself spent the rest of his working life designing guns and gun parts for a number of companies including Winchester and Remington. However, in January 1975, by then very wealthy, he died. His entire workshop is displayed at North Carolina's Museum of History.



Carbine Williams' story was remarkable, so much so that screen icon James Stewart portrayed him in a 1952 Hollywood biopic

FROM BOOZE TO BABANIA

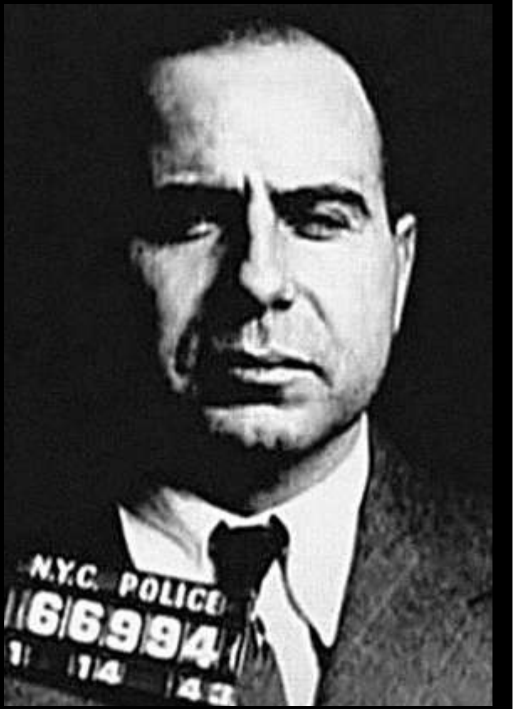
PERHAPS PROHIBITION'S DARKEST LEGACY CAME LONG AFTER REPEAL. SOME OF PROHIBITION'S ILLICIT PROFITS LATER FINANCED THE AMERICAN MAFIA'S DRUG BUSINESS

Old-school Mafiosi called it 'babania', Sicilian slang for heroin. The Mafia had long been involved in the drug trade, but profits from Prohibition enabled them to shift their operation into a much higher gear. Courtesy of Prohibition, Mafiosi had the skills, experience and start-up capital to begin industrial-scale heroin trafficking, a business they're still involved in today.

Before the war, one of America's main heroin smugglers was Louis 'Lepke' Buchalter. Buchalter, a former bootlegger, labour racketeer and murderer electrocuted in 1944, started smuggling heroin in 1935, bribing customs inspectors to turn a blind eye. His operation earned millions in illegal profits, but was small beer compared to the legendary 'French Connection'.

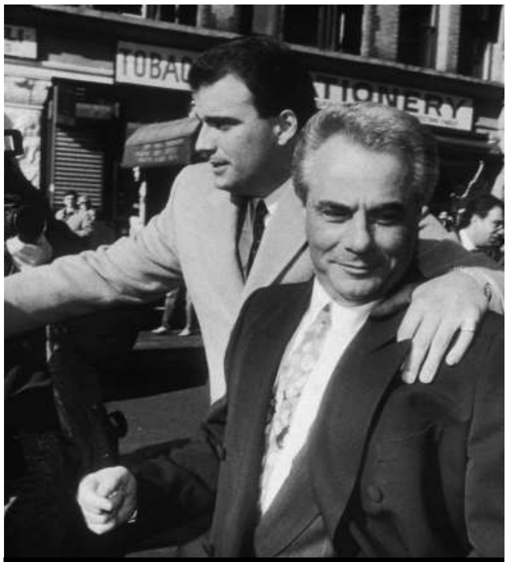
Set up by the Corsican underworld, vast amounts of heroin were shipped to the US via Marseilles and Canada. Through the 1950s until the early 1970s, heroin was making its way into the US by the ton. The American end was organised by Mafiosi Joseph Bonanno (leader of New York's Bonanno family) and Carmine 'The Cigar' Galante.

Both Bonanno and Galante rose to prominence during Prohibition, Bonanno as a family boss and Galante as a bootlegger and killer. Their start-up capital came, more than anywhere else, from Prohibition.



Bootlegger and Mafioso Carmine Galante helped set up the French Connection. It flooded America with heroin bought with Prohibition profits

Cagney's friend George Raft had other interesting friends too. Bugsy Siegel was one of organised crime's most senior figures



1980s mobster John Gotti loved headlines as much as any Prohibition-era mobster, even making the cover of *Time* magazine

JACK DANIEL'S
LYNCHBURG TENNESSEE

Jack Daniel's is distilled in Lynchburg, Tennessee, in a dry county. The company has occasionally sponsored NASCAR drivers

The Mafia funded large-scale drug trafficking with profits from Prohibition. Once awash in booze, America became flooded with heroin

especially in the South, had long been customising and improving their vehicles to out-run police and Federal agents. In the 1930s they began racing their 'whiskey cars' at local fairgrounds and racetracks. After World War II, the National Association for Stock Car Auto Racing, better known as NASCAR, was formed. According to racing writer Daniel Pierce: "A large percentage of the early mechanics, car owners, promoters and track owners had deep ties to the illegal alcohol business"

As moonshining remains a Southern tradition to this day, so does NASCAR. It isn't shy about its roots, either. Junior Johnson, a NASCAR team owner, drove in races in between moonshine runs along the back roads of North Carolina. Today, one of his original moonshine stills is an exhibit at NASCAR's museum. Many liquor stores also stock Junior Johnson's Midnight Moon Carolina Moonshine.

American drinking habits and alcohol businesses also changed after Prohibition. Spirits became more popular than beer, shots being more potent. Homemade wine vastly increased in popularity, albeit ruining the American wine industry in the process. Sold on the pretext that it was for making non-alcoholic fruit juice, one brand of grape concentrate was marketed with a knowing warning on the box: "After dissolving the brick in a gallon of water, do not place the liquid in a jug away in the cupboard for 20 days, because then it would turn into wine."

Ironically Prohibition, once intended to outlaw alcohol, is now used as a marketing tool. New York City's only rum distillery is named The Noble Experiment and its signature product is Owney's NYC Rum. During Prohibition, Owney Madden himself produced a beer named Madden's Number One. Bathtub Gin is now the name of a popular brand of gin, although this version has definitely not been distilled in a bathtub and doesn't contain anything it shouldn't.

Prohibition, at first lauded for its virtue then slammed for its failure, occupies a contradictory place in American history. It will always be remembered far more for gangsters, violence and corruption than its original good intentions. That said, regardless of its failure to do what it was meant to, it's still left an indelible mark on the United States in the 20th and 21st centuries.

FBI DIRECTOR J EDGAR HOOVER REFUSED TO ADMIT THE MAFIA EXISTED UNTIL THE 1950S

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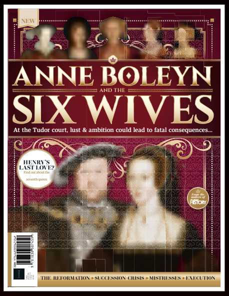
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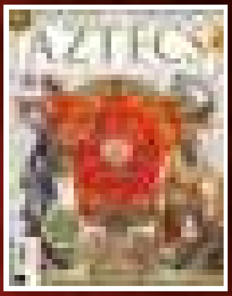

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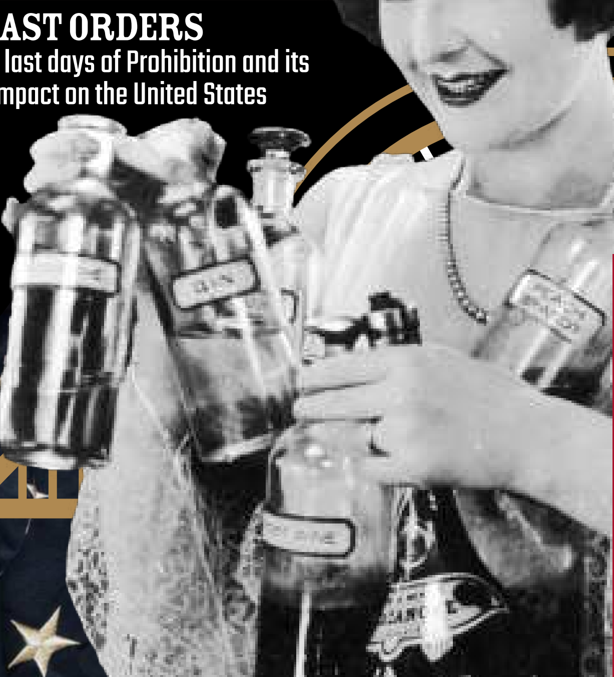

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